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The Magic Lantern Gazette

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NIAGARA FALLS,—SUMMER VIEW.
from Goat Island.
F. Langenheim's Patent, Nov. 19, 1850.
Terrapin Tower & Falls
Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1856, by F. Langenheim, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Glass stereoview of Niagara Falls in summer, 1856, by Frederick Langenheim. In the 1860s, Fallon's Stereopticon showed slides made from one half of this type of stereoview. New York Public Library.

The Magic Lantern Society of the United States and Canada

www.magiclanternsociety.org

Fallon's Stereopticon

Mr. Fallon's new scientific exhibition gave their opening lecture and illustration at the Athenaeum last night, and although the public expected some remarkable sights, we are free to express the half has not been told of its great beauty and wonder, as you sit there gazing at the screen on which the successive pictures gradually shape themselves into distinctness and then fade away to be replaced by others, it will seem as if you were looking into the magic mirror of Cornelius Agrippa, or that of some of those old medieval wizards. Or as the familiar objects about you are lost in the darkened room, you can imagine yourself borne away on the enchanted carpet of the Arabian tale, and brought to where you can look down upon the veritable Paris, Rome, and Egypt.

"Modern Miracles," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*,
April 15, 1863, p. 3

I must ask the indulgence of the membership in presenting an extra-long issue of the *Gazette*, which consists entirely of one article that I wrote on John Fallon's Stereopticon. This was the first magic lantern exhibition in the United States to be called a stereopticon, a term that was quickly adopted for any exhibition of photographic slides. I have been doing research for this article for about four years, and it seemed time to bring the project to a close.

The article explores the contributions of six men who were involved in the exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon in the 1860s. Most of these men, including John Fallon, were not professional stereopticon showmen, for such a profession did not exist at the time. Some were businessmen; one was a missionary; another was a musician turned stereopticon lecturer. Most of these men had a relatively brief involvement with the Stereopticon in the 1860s and then turned their attention to other endeavors, their role in introducing the Stereopticon to America largely forgotten. Only one, "Professor" George Reed Cromwell, became a professional stereopticon lecturer; I will tell more of his story in a future article.

In addition to identifying the men who exhibited and managed Fallon's Stereopticon, I also have attempted to reconstruct the itinerary of this marvelous new visual attraction in the 1860s. The Stereopticon traveled throughout the towns and cites of the Northeast, visiting places readily accessible by rail, as inter-city roads in this period were nearly impassible for much of the year. From Philadelphia to Boston, New York, Brooklyn, Hartford, Lawrence, Lowell, Portland, and other cities, the Stereopticon brought scenes of distant lands and the great art treasures of Europe to people who had few opportunities to travel abroad or to visit art museums. Usually the Stereopticon played to large crowds in the largest venues available in these cites, and I have tracked down photographs and engravings of as many of these halls as possible. These give us a picture of largely unknown entertainment venues in Civil War America.

I hope to have the next few issues of the *Gazette* out in relatively short order. I actually have a small backlog of research articles by other contributors. The Winter 2011 issue will include an interesting story of a man who traveled in Russia and Japan for the YMCA and later gave lantern slide lectures about his trip. There also will be a special section of book reviews, as there recently has been a bounty of newly published books related to the magic lantern.

As always, I am eager to receive long or short articles on aspects of magic lantern history and culture for future issues of the *Gazette*. So if you are doing research on some interesting topic, please keep our journal in mind as a place to publish your work.

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View of Mt. Vernon in 1856 by Frederick Langenheim, from one half of a glass stereoview. Slides for Fallon's Stereopticon often were made from glass stereoviews and often featured views of American scenery and historic buildings. New York Public Library.

The Stereopticon Men: On the Road with John Fallon's Stereopticon, 1860-1870

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We have no hesitation in recommending to the attention and patronage of our readers in this city and the towns about, the really beautiful exhibitions which will begin Tuesday evening at Touro Hall. Whittier, Holmes, Emerson, and many other literary men and travelers, have expressed their unqualified admiration of the wonderful power of the Stereopticon, as invented by Mr. Fallon, and who will be here with it this week. It is not a magic lantern or a panorama, but a new device for throwing pictures on canvas, making them stand out in life form and size. All the illustrations are fully described, so becomes a matter of useful instruction as well as entertainment.

Hartford Daily Courant
December 22, 1862, p. 2

Irving Hall—The usual musical entertainments at this popular establishment were varied on Monday night by the introduction, for the first time of Fallon's "Stereopticon," an instrument which magnifies to the diameter of 24 feet the ordinary objects of the stereoscope. There are very few who have not derived pleasure from the charming little instruments which are now found in every parlor. Although of limited power and difficult adjustment to various sights, they are capable, as we all know, of giving wonderfully distinct and truthful representations of places and things. It will be easily understood how Fallon's newly-invented Stereoscope intensifies this pleasure…. The architectural views are truly remarkable and afford a fine study of that branch of art; while the sculpture is reproduced with a roundness and truth that equals the original. The exhibition, in a word, is one of the best and most instructive we have ever had in the City.

New York Times
January 18, 1863, p. 4

In the early 1860s, advertisements and newspaper articles in northeastern cities such as New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Hartford, and New Haven announced the arrival of "Fallon's Stereopticon." Some ads called it a marvel of nature, or the scientific wonder of the age. Others referred to it as the Great Wall Photographer. In many ads, the projector itself, The Stereopticon, was the main attraction, although other ads focused on the realism of the photographic slides enlarged and projected onto a screen, with an image 25 feet in diameter. Many of the photographs exhibited, especially those depicting sculpture, were so much more realistic than the usual hand-pained lantern slides that many viewers imagined they were seeing true stereoscopic images that seemed to pop out of the screen as solid, three-dimensional objects (Fig. 1). This wondrous optical instrument was the property of John Fallon, identified in some of the publicity as a chemist from Lawrence, Massachusetts. It was the first lantern-slide projector in the United States to be called by the name "stereopticon," a term that would quickly overtake the old-fashioned term "magic lantern" as the standard name for a limelight lantern used to project photographic slides.[1]

The story of John Fallon's Stereopticon actually begins in Philadelphia in 1860, where it was exhibited for several months

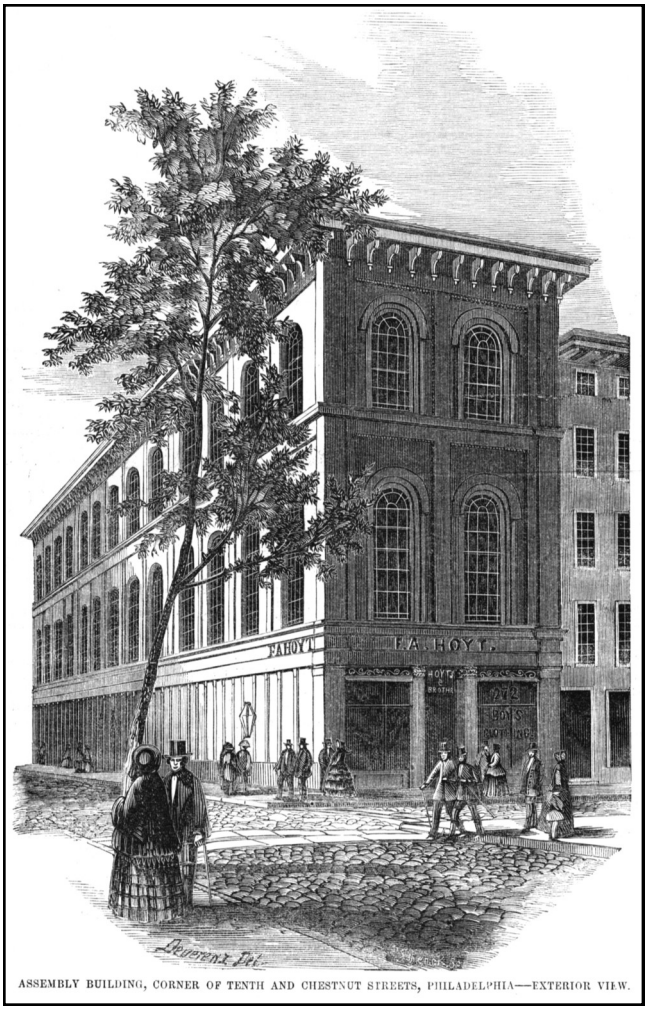
Fig. 1. Slides of sculpture were very popular in early exhibitions of the Stereopticon because they stood out from the screen with a realistic three-dimensionality not previously seen in lantern slides. In exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon, images like this one often would be projected against a sky-blue background and could be made to gradually enlarge in size, appearing to approach the audience. Wells collection.

by Peter E. Abel and Thomas Leyland, under the name "Abel and Leyland's Stereopticon."[2] Abel and Leyland's Philadelphia show opened in December 1860 at Concert Hall. The exhibition subsequently moved to a larger venue, the Assembly Buildings at 10th and Chestnut Streets, in early February 1861, where it remained until late April (Fig. 2). As I discussed briefly in a previous article, the stereopticon exhibited by Abel and Leyland was, in fact, owned by John Fallon, and was the same stereopticon later displayed in many cities throughout the Northeast.[3] A pamphlet written by Fallon and published in 1863 gives a short history of the Stereopticon:

> Fallon's Stereopticon.—During the past year a wonderful invention with the above name, combining the highest triumphs of optical and chemical science, has been exhibited through the larger cities, and before many of the Colleges and the Scientific Associations of the North.....
>
> The final perfection of this truly Wonderful Instrument is due to the patient and untiring industry and research of John Fallon, Esq., Superintendent of Pacific Mills Print Works, Lawrence, Mass., who for several years has given it his almost constant attention during his leisure moments, and has at length been so fully and successfully rewarded. A similar apparatus was invented in London a few years since and exhibited at the Polytechnic Institute a short time, but through some imperfection was a failure. A similar result followed the exhibition at the Hall of Illustration, Regent's Park, at a later period. The final successful result was left for this country to achieve....
>
> This invention is the discovery of John Fallon, Esq., of Lawrence, and was first privately exhibited to a few scientific men in Philadelphia. These private exhibitions attracted so much attention that Mr. Fallon finally decided to make a public exhibition. The result was the largest assembly room to be found in Philadelphia was crowded thirteen weeks. It was afterword shown in Boston, with the same success. It has been exhibited before the societies of New Haven, Hartford, Springfield, Worcester, Providence, New Bedford, and Portland, in each of which it seems to have completely absorbed public attention.[4]

The only stereopticon presented in Philadelphia in the early 1860s and subsequently in Boston was that of Abel and Leyland, while exhibitions in the other cities listed were under Fallon's name (Table 1). Hence, it is clear that Abel and Leyland's Stereopticon and Fallon's Stereopticon are one and the same thing. Both this pamphlet and several broadsides and newspaper notices from the period list Thomas Leyland as the operator of The Stereopticon when it was exhibited in Philadelphia and other cities. After the Abel and Leyland name was dropped, Leyland continued as the operator, while Tilly Haynes of Springfield, Massachusetts, was listed as the business manager, the role previously played by Peter Abel. Tilly Haynes was identified as the proprietor of Music Hall in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Several other lines of evidence show that Abel and Leyland and Fallon were exhibiting the same instrument. First, publicity for both stereopticons quoted endorsements from Boston-area intellectuals, including a statement quoted from Ralph



ASSEMBLY BUILDING, CORNER OF TENTH AND CHESTNUT STREETS, PHILADELPHIA—EXTERIOR VIEW.

Fig. 2. The Assembly Buildings at 10th and Chestnut Streets in Philadelphia. This was the second venue for the exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon in Philadelphia by Abel and Leyland in 1861. Like many music halls and theaters of the time, the ground floor was occupied by retail stores, whereas the meeting and exhibition rooms were on the upper floors. From *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, September 17, 1853, p. 180. Wells collection.

Waldo Emerson, who called it "the culmination of the Daguerrean Art."[5] Second, a series of short articles appeared in 1879 and 1880 in a small periodical, *The Exhibitor*, published by magic lantern manufacturer C. T. Milligan. The articles, written under the pseudonym "Huon," traced the earliest days of the Stereopticon. The author, who claimed to have been the first lecturer, or Delineator, associated with The Stereopticon, described the opening of the Stereopticon in Philadelphia and its later showing in Boston, but also carried the story up to 1863, by which time the Stereopticon was being exhibited under Fallon's name.[6] These issues of this very rare periodical are in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but one issue, which carried part 3 of the story, is missing from

the collection, so the story is incomplete.

Indeed, many aspects of the story of Fallon's Stereopticon remain untold. A few scholars have briefly discussed Fallon's role in early stereopticon exhibition, but all have assumed that Abel and Leyland's stereopticon and Fallon's stereopticon were different instruments, with Fallon's being an "improved" version of Abel and Leyland's. The most detailed account is found in the unpublished portion of a Ph.D. dissertation by X. Theodore Barber, while the principal published account is in Charles Musser's seminal account of the early years of American cinema.[7] Most other published accounts depend heavily on Musser's work.[8] Musser referred to Fallon as a "showman," but as I will demonstrate in this article, Fallon was not a professional showman, nor were most of the other men involved in the early exhibitions of the Stereopticon. The story actually involves six men: John Fallon and Thomas Leyland, both of Lawrence, Massachusetts; Peter E. Abel of Philadelphia; Tilly Haynes of Springfield, Massachusetts; Rev. J. C. Fletcher of Newburyport, Massachusetts; and "Professor" George Reed Cromwell of New York.

Fallon's Stereopticon: What Was It?

Before discussing the travels of Fallon's Stereopticon and the men involved with its exhibition, it is worth trying to determine the nature of Fallon's instrument. Fallon's advertising for the Stereopticon often stated that it was "not a simple Panorama, or Magic Lantern, or some such apparatus with which all are familiar."[9] What is not clear from these broadsides is the exact nature of Fallon's apparatus. Newspaper accounts from the period give some hints, however. First, we know that Fallon's Stereopticon was used to project photographs, not painted slides, and by all accounts, these were of extremely high quality. Second, from Fallon's own descriptions and newspaper accounts, it is clear that the Stereopticon was illuminated by limelight. Third, the device could be used to produce dissolving effects, although Fallon's advertising did not highlight this feature. This is evident from a description in the *Taunton Gazette*, quoted in Fallon's pamphlet: "To behold soft, white clouds gathering and rolling themselves like smoke, till out of them come cites, gardens and seas, places, cathedrals and plains, what can do this but the wondrous wand of the Persias! In nothing is the effect so beautiful as in the presentation of sculpture. Then, as if this were one of the most sacred secrets of Art, there spreads a lovely blue cloud—a cerulean fog, floating and whitening, till slowly out of its dreaminess, gigantic statues have breathed themselves upon you." Another passage quoted in Fallon's pamphlet states that "the result is the production of a new series of instantaneous views of Paris, taken at mid-day, as a new feature in what may be termed Dissolving View Photography."[10]

There also is evidence that Fallon's Stereopticon was rather large, and indeed, was not "a mere magic lantern." The *Utica Morning Herald* reported that "The exhibition consists of a succession of stereoscopic views thrown from an immense camera, of peculiar construction, in the center of the Hall, on a huge disc reaching from the platform to the ceiling, the room being entirely darkened to give effect to the pictures."[11] The New York *Spirit of the Times* gave a similar description: "We are confronted by a formidable engine, which blocks up the middle aisle, and from which we instinctively draw aside. It looks like an ambulance, does this formidable engine, and is supported on slim but lofty piles. It is shrouded in black cloth, and wears an air of darkness and mystery. The stage is taken up by a white cloth screen..... The Stereopticon is an ingenious combination of the stereoscope, the camera, and the magnifying glass."[12] All contemporary accounts agree that the Stereopticon projected images of enormous size—about 25-30 feet in diameter, or 600 square feet in area [a circle of 600 square feet in area would be about 28 feet in diameter].

Perhaps even more intriguing evidence comes from a one-page flyer inserted into the Fallon pamphlet in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society. This document lists previous shows in Boston, Brooklyn, New Haven, Springfield, Worcester, Providence, New Bedford, New London, Norwich, Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, Lawrence, Salem, Newburyport, Portland, New York, and Albany. It also gives instructions on how to book exhibitions of the Stereopticon through Mr. Tilly Haynes of Springfield, Massachusetts. A brief note at the end states that the apparatus and chemicals (presumably gas tanks for limelight) weigh 4000 pounds, so it is necessary for shows to take place in cities with good railroad connections. Even allowing for extra gas tanks, packing crates, boxes of slides, etc., 4000 pounds seems like a lot of weight and probably is an exaggeration.[13]

There is one published engraving of the Stereopticon being exhibited under Abel and Leyland's name at the Assembly Buildings in Philadelphia, but we cannot take this illustration very seriously as a true depiction of the lantern (Fig. 3). As shown in the print, the stereopticon is about the height of a two or three-story building, with the people next it the size of ants. Clearly a large ladder would have been required just to insert a slide into the lantern. Furthermore, the slides for such a device would have been immense. Yet we know from a contemporary account that there was nothing unusual about the slides for the Stereopticon, which were described as being about $2^{1/2}$ inches square. This is approximately the size of the actual picture area of a standard $3^{1/4}$ X $3^{1/4}$ inch lantern slide, or half of a standard glass stereoscopic slide.[14]

Other features of this print are wrong as well. The lantern is shown up against the left wall of the auditorium, although it would have been located in the center of the room to project an image properly on the screen. The image on the screen is shown as rectangular, although it probably would have been round, and many contemporary descriptions

referred to an "immense disk" on the screen. As is typical of engravings of the interiors of theaters at that period, the whole vertical height of the room is exaggerated, suggesting a space at least 50 or 60 feet high, when in fact, the hall occupied only the upper floor of a three-story building. Leaving aside the somewhat exaggerated descriptions and this illustration, we can conclude that the Stereopticon was a rather large, but not gigantic, biunial lantern, probably with a wood body.

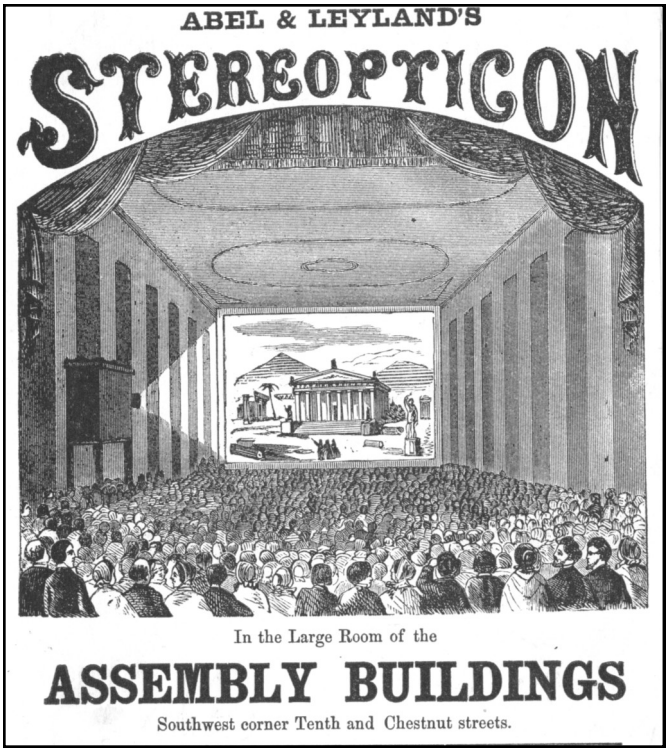


Fig. 3. Engraving of Abel and Leyland's Stereopticon being exhibited in the Assembly Buildings in Philadelphia in 1861. This view shows a grossly exaggerated size for the Stereopticon and places it in the wrong position in the room. Image courtesy of The Library Company of Philadelphia.

Fallon's Stereopticon: Where Did it Come From?

Although Fallon's publicity often referred to him as having invented or improved the stereopticon, it appears that he actually brought it from England, where he was born. One early article stated that Abel and Leyland's [Fallon's] Stereopticon "is the only one of the kind on this side of the Atlantic.... The maker, who resides in Manchester, England, has made only eight others—none so large and perfect as this...."[15] Another article described the Stereopticon as "the invention of an English optician."[16] A third article, published in 1863, has wording very similar to some of Fallon's own publicity notices. The anonymous author of this piece says, "Although the stereopticon was exhibited for a time in the Polytechnic Institute, and in the Hall of Illustration, Regent's Park, London, yet it did not advance beyond the first discovery. J. Fallon, Esq., of Lawrence, Mass., the chemist of the Pacific Mills, who devoted thirty years to photology, imported from England one of these instruments for his own family. But under his hands it was developed into something so perfect that his friends desired that others might have the pleasure which he enjoyed. He has sent it forth on a charitable mission, and for churches, Sabbath schools, and sanitary commissions its charities can be counted by thousands."[17]

If Fallon did indeed bring his Stereopticon from England, and if it was manufactured in Manchester, then the most likely maker would have been John Benjamin Dancer, the leading optician of the city. Dancer has been credited with a number of important advances in photography and magic lantern technology. He was the inventor of microphotography, and he developed the first stereoscopic camera. He was one of the first people in England to use limelight illumination in lanterns, and he also was one of the first to project photographic lantern slides. Dancer was an important magic lantern manufacturer and the inventor of the dissolving tap, which allowed smooth simultaneous dimming and brightening of lights in the two halves of a dissolving lantern.[18]

In the 1850s, Dancer produced a very large lantern for exhibiting dissolving views, which was exhibited at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute. It was there that Dancer first showed photographic lantern slides, which he had made from glass stereoscope slides produced in France. According to an account in *The Magic Lantern Manual*, by W. J. Chadwick, Dancer's lantern had nine-inch condensing lenses. Chadwick further stated that "In his Lantern...one body combines in it the two optical systems, which are placed diagonally.... By this arrangement the axes are brought as near to each other as possible, still allowing ample room for the manipulation of the slides either horizontally or vertically, the latter being convenient for effect, such as balloon ascents, etc.... The powers are of the highest class, fixed upon telescopic brass tubes, so that objectives of long or short focus can be used. The condensers are of the best construction..... A dissolving tap is fixed at the back, with adjusting screws to regulate the supply of hydrogen in each lantern for maintaining a light when the oxygen is turned off....." [19] Just this sort of lantern would have produced all of the effects described for Fallon's Stereopticon, and even Dancer's use of glass stereoscope slides for projection corresponds to Fallon's practice. Although the evidence is circumstantial, it is possible that Fallon's Stereopticon was a Dancer lantern (Fig. 4).

The Stereopticon Men: John Fallon

John Fallon was born in Manchester, England in 1818 and trained as a chemist, specializing on dyes and the printing of fabrics. The science of dye chemistry was in its infancy, with natural dyes being replaced by synthetic aniline dyes

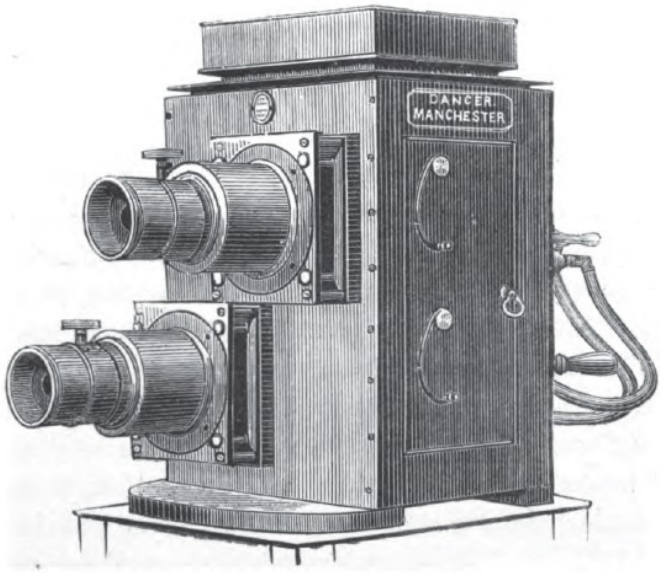


Fig. 4. Engraving of a biunial lantern designed by John Benjamin Dancer. The lenses are offset to allow for the use of vertical as well as horizontal slides, for special effects such as a balloon ascending into the sky. From: W. J. Chadwick. 1878. *The Magic Lantern Manual.*

produced through the new science of organic chemistry.[20] Fallon initially worked in the textile industry in Manchester, where his high level of education and expertise in chemistry resulted in his being rapidly promoted. He arrived in the United States in 1845 and settled in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1852.[21]

Lawrence was a new and growing industrial city at that time, with textile mills being built on farmland north of Boston. Fallon went to work for Pacific Mills (Fig. 5), which was actively recruiting immigrants from the English textile industry.[22] Well-educated immigrants were in great demand in an industry in which many ordinary workers were illiterate. Fallon was unusual among immigrants of the time in rising to a high administrative position at Pacific Mills; most such positions were held by native-born Americans.[23] By 1860, he was the Superintendent of the Pacific Mills Print Works, the part of the mill operation responsible for printing designs on calico and other fabrics (Fig. 6). Pacific Mills, founded by Abbott Lawrence and incorporated in 1853, was the largest textile mill, and one of the largest factories of any kind, in the world. Although many textile mills experienced a downturn in business during the early 1860s, Pacific Mills actually was booming during the Civil War. Fallon remained in his position as Superintendent of the Print Works until 1880, when he became Acting Agent of Pacific Mills, essentially the man in charge of all local operations of the mill. He retired from Pacific Mills shortly thereafter, but remained active in community affairs.

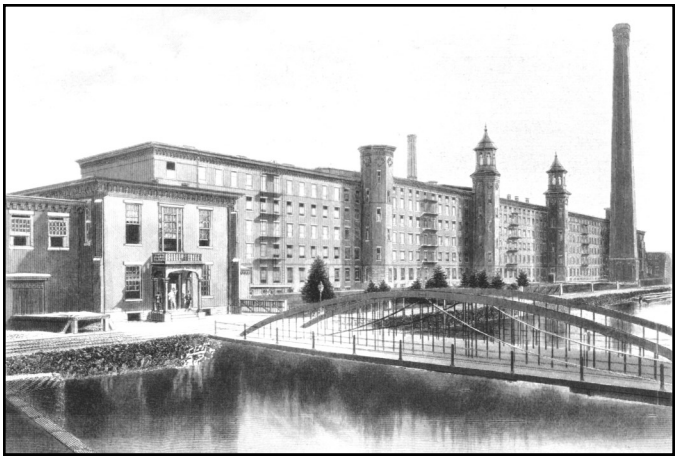


Fig. 5. Pacific Mills in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1876. This building still stands, but is mostly empty, the textile mills of Lawrence having long since shut down. This was the largest textile factory in the world when John Fallon was the Superintendent of the Print Works. From: Benson J. Lossing. 1876. *History of American Industries and Arts* (Porter & Coates, Philadelphia), p. 289. Wells collection.

Fallon appears to have considered himself a scientist first and a businessman second, and he retained a life-long interest in scientific matters. Probably it was his background in science that led to his interest in the Stereopticon, which was billed as "The Scientific Wonder and Marvel of the Age." Fallon became a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), an organization founded in Philadelphia in 1848 to promote the interests of science in the United States.[24] One of the founding members was Matthew Fontaine Maury, a naval officer who advocated the collection of detailed data on weather and ocean currents in many different locations. Perhaps following Maury's advice, Fallon spent several decades recording weather conditions in Lawrence and forwarding the data to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.[25]

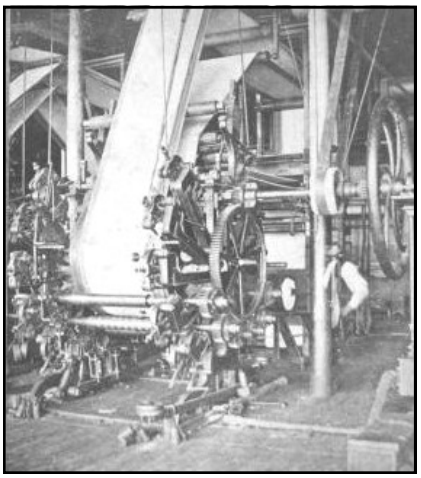


Fig. 6. Calico printing room of Pacific Mills. John Fallon was for many years the Superintendent of the Print Works at Pacific Mills. From a stereo view. New York Public Library.

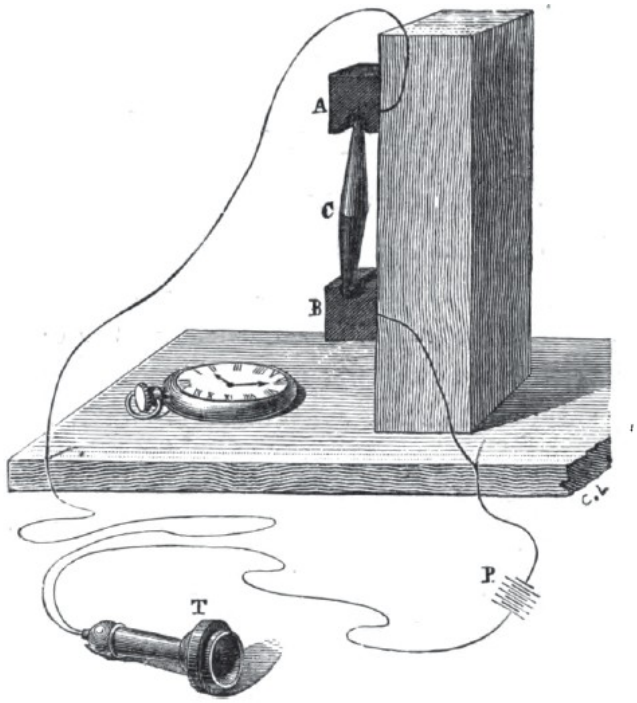
Other evidence of Fallon's passion for science is a painting he had commissioned for his home, depicting a European chemical laboratory in the earliest days of aniline dye chemistry. This painting was donated to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology some years after Fallon's death.[26] In 1855, Fallon took out a patent for a new type of rubber blanket involved in the calico printing process, the only record I have found of an actual invention by Fallon.[27]

In 1859, several New England newspapers reported on some scientific experiments performed by Fallon on the relative cost of different kinds of lighting: "Mr. John Fallon, the chemist of the Pacific Mills, Lawrence, has made some careful experiments as to the relative cost of different kinds of light, and finds that ordinary coal-gas, as $3.50 per thousand feet, is the cheapest. Kerosene oil, to be equally cheap, would have to be furnished at 84 per cent. of its current price; sperm oil would have to be furnished at 76 per cent. of its present price; burning fluid at 53 per cent. and lard oil at 56 per cent."[28]

Fallon visited the London International Exhibition in 1862. He contributed a short piece to the local newspaper on a demonstration of microscopic writing in the exhibit of philosophical instruments, which he pronounced "one of the greatest marvels of the exhibition." His description mentioned 51 verses of the first chapter of St. John, written on glass in a space only a few millimeters square. Although the article referred to "Mr. Welch," this probably was an error by the type-setter; the microscopic writing actually was done by William Webb (1815-1888), who used tiny diamond-tipped pens and a machine that reduced the movements of his hand to a very small scale. The writings could then be viewed through a microscope. Fallon's description is consistent with those given in contemporary British publications. *Fraser's Magazine* stated that "Mr. Peter's microscopic writing-machine, by which the Lord's Prayer can be written and read in the three hundred and fifty-six thousandth part of an inch, has attracted many visitors; but that constructed by Mr. Webb... has afforded even greater interest. By it he has engraved the whole or the fifty-one verses of the first chapter of St. John in the 1/1054 of an inch."[29]

Fallon also sometimes gave public demonstrations of scientific discoveries. In 1878, the Lawrence newspaper reported on a demonstration by Fallon of the new Hughes carbon microphone, invented by Prof. David Hughes of London that same year (Fig. 7). In fact, it appears that Fallon precisely replicated the demonstration of the microphone given by Hughes at the Royal Society only a few months earlier:

> By the courtesy of Agent Fallon of the Pacific mills, who is quite an enthusiast in scientific matters, we spent a delightful hour a few days since in experiments with the latest marvel of discovery, the microphone, a little instrument which becomes to the ear what the microscope is to the eye. This is a discovery of Professor Hughes, of Great Britain, who, while experimenting with the telephone, found a new element, through which he has succeeded in perfecting an instrument by which sound is magnified or increased, and conveyed by a wire, in a wonderful manner. The microphone of Mr. Fallon, imported from England, is a simple little affair….
>
> Mr. Fallon has connected with his microphone some six hundred feet of wire, and in the room at the other end, an ordinary Bell telephone attachment. During the experiments which we made with the assistance of Mr. Rideout, a watch was placed upon the instrument, and through the nearly one-eighth of a mile of wire, same to the ear not only the separate ticking, resounding like the heavy beating of a marine or tower clock, but we could clearly detect the whirr of the minute wheels, the buzz and friction of the delicate machinery of the watch.[30]



The Hughes microphone demonstrated by John Fallon in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1878. Fallon replicated the demonstration given by Prof. Hughes in London a few months earlier, even placing a watch next to the microphone and transmitting the ticking sound of the watch through a wire to a telephone receiver. From: J. E. H. Gordon, 1880, *A Physical Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism* (D. Appleton & Co., New York), p. 281.

Fallon's scientific background was useful in the operations of Pacific Mills. The company ran on a paternalistic system. The workers, many of them women and children, were paid low wages and lived mostly in tenement housing built by the company. The company, however, took pride in the efforts made to educate its workers and provide cultural activities for them. In fact, the company received a citation at the Paris International Exhibition in 1867 for its efforts toward improving the lives of workers.[31] As one of the most educated members of the firm,

John Fallon no doubt was heavily involved in these programs. In 1857, he supplied some information on the educational activities of the Pacific Mills Print Works for a directory of public libraries, institutions, and societies in the United States: "An elegant lecture hall was built, capable of seating 900 persons. This is the first instance on record, we believe, that a lecture hall formed part of a manufacturing establishment.... Apart from the purchase of books, we expend from $250 to $350, each winter, for popular lectures, musical entertainments, panoramas, &c. &c. We frequently have to repeat musical entertainments, having our hall densely crowded (as we allow heads of families to bring their wives). The panoramic displays are for the youth, which preponderates very largely."[32] Certainly, it is conceivable that Fallon tried out his Stereopticon in the factory auditorium, just as John Dancer had used his lantern to entertain working men at the Manchester Mechanics' Institute. Indeed, in 1862, a correspondent wrote to the Salem Gazette and reported "having had the pleasure of seeing the 'Stereopticon' in Lawrence" and cited the use of Fallon's Stereopticon for various charitable events.[33]

Another point of pride for Pacific Mills was its extensive lending library. Although many of the company's workers could not read, the library was financed by mandatory deductions of one cent per week from the workers' paychecks.[34] Probably due in part to John Fallon's influence, the library carried not only popular novels and other light reading material, but scientific works as well. For example, Pacific Mills is listed as a subscriber to Louis Agassiz's *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*, an ambitious project originally intended to be 10 volumes, only four of which were actually published.[35] Another Agassiz volume, *Methods of Study in Natural History (*1863), was in the library as well and is still in the collection of the Lawrence Public Library, which incorporated the Pacific Mills library into its holdings. In fact, the library, which held more than 7000 volumes by 1876, offered a very broad range of reading material in science, art, history, literature, biography, religion, and philosophy. The Pacific Mills library also subscribed to technical periodicals, such as the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, *The Chemist*, *Textile Colorist*, *American Naturalist*, and the *Annual of Scientific Discovery*, which were more likely to be read by a scientist like Fallon than by ordinary mill workers.[36]

Apparently, Fallon initially believed his Stereopticon would appeal mostly to other scientists. His own publicity pamphlet stated that it "was first privately exhibited to a few scientific men in Philadelphia" before being offered for public exhibition.[37] Although Fallon was the owner of the Stereopticon, it seems unlikely that he participated in most of the exhibitions. With a fulltime job as a supervisor in the largest textile mill in the country, it is hard to imagine how he would have found the time to personally exhibit his Stereopticon for weeks at a time in cities that included Philadelphia, New Haven, Hartford, New London, and Norwich, Connecticut; Boston, Springfield, Worcester, Taunton, Salem, Lawrence, Lynn, Lowell, Amesbury, and New Bedford, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; Rochester, Oswego, Syracuse, Utica, Albany, Troy, New York City, and Brooklyn, New York; and Portland, Maine (Table 1). Most newspaper notices and broadsides did not specifically mention who presented the shows. One notice in the *Hartford Courant* mentioned that Mr. Fallon "will be here with it this week,"[38] while another in the *New York Tribune* from June 20, 1863 referred to "explanatory remarks by Mr. Fallon." A piece in the *Rochester Express*, on the other hand, mentioned Mr. Leyland as the lecturer. Yet another article in the *New York Times* referred to a Mr. Rose, "who briefly explains the pictures."[39] Other advertisements, such as those in Portland, Maine, listed the Rev. J. C. Fletcher as the lecturer; his role is described in more detail below. Clearly, different lecturers were added to the exhibitions, depending on the city being visited.

The Stereopticon Men: Thomas Leyland

When Fallon's Stereopticon first opened in Philadelphia under the direction of Abel and Leyland, there was no mention of Fallon's name in newspaper ads, nor was there any identification of Abel and Leyland. What was their relationship to Fallon? Not much is known about Thomas Leyland, but he appears to have been a personal acquaintance of Fallon from Lawrence. He was born in England in 1829 and arrived in the United States in 1845, the same year as Fallon. I have not been able to determine whether they knew each other in England or arrived on the same ship. In 1859, when Leyland was 30 years old, the *Lawrence Directory* listed him as the overseer of Pacific House 51 in the Pacific Block, the tenement housing built by Pacific Mills for its workers. In the 1860s, he ran a dry goods business, which eventually came to specialize in importing and selling dyes and other supplies for the textile printing industry. Presumably he did business with John Fallon as the Superintendent of the Pacific Mills Print Works. He also was active in the Masonic Lodge in Lawrence (Fig. 8).[40] For the stereopticon shows, he served as operator of the lantern, and at least occasionally seems to have narrated the slides as well. Perhaps as a local merchant, he was able to leave his business in the care of a relative or employee and spend more time on the road with the stereopticon than Fallon was able to do. One of the articles by "Huon" on the early days of the Stereopticon in *The Exhibitor* described an exhibition in Lawrence in 1863. The operator of the lantern (Leyland) surprised the audience with a slide of Pacific Mills "to please some of his friends in Lawrence" (Fig. 9). Unfortunately, he also surprised the lecturer, who, without first looking at the slide, identified it as a scene in Edinburgh, Scotland.[41]

The Stereopticon Men: Peter E. Abel

Peter E. Abel was a local Philadelphia businessman who was born in the city in 1826. After graduating from Central High School, he went to work for a bookselling firm, Turner and Fisher. He later joined the publishing company of T. B. Peter-

Fig. 8. Thomas Leyland of Lawrence, Massachusetts, in the 1870s. Leyland served as the operator of the Stereopticon, both when it was exhibited by Abel & Leyland and later under Fallon's name. This photograph was found in a Masonic Lodge in Lawrence, where Leyland was an active member. Photo courtesy of The Lawrence History Center.

Fig. 9. Photo of Pacific Mills in 1873, from a stereo view. At an exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon in Lawrence in 1863, Thomas Leyland put up a slide of Pacific Mills to surprise his friends in Lawrence. Wells collection.

son Brothers and was working there in the 1860s. His first love, however, was the world of theatrical productions and entertainment, and in addition to his publishing work, he staked out a career as the business manager for a number of amusement enterprises.[42] It was this role that he played in the exhibition of Abel and Leyland's Stereopticon in 1860 and 1861. Throughout the 1860s, he appears to have specialized in organizing fancy dress balls in Philadelphia, Washington, and Cape May, New Jersey.[43] In the early 1860s, after Fallon's Stereopticon was no longer being exhibited under the Abel and Leyland name, Abel set out on his own with a few stereopticon exhibitions, mostly in the Philadelphia area, but on at least one occasion, venturing as far west as Cleveland, Ohio. Although his advertising claimed that he was showing "The Original Mammoth Stereopticon," it could not have been the same lantern as Fallon's, because his Philadelphia exhibitions were at the same time as exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon in Lowell, Massachusetts, and Hartford, Connecticut. In any case, his efforts as a stereopticon showman were short-lived, and there is no indication of any exhibitions after 1865.[44]

The Stereopticon Men: Tilly Haynes

In 1862, after the initial showings of the Stereopticon in Philadelphia and Boston by Abel and Leyland, Abel went off on his own, leaving Leyland as the operator of Fallon's Stereopticon. At that point, the enterprise acquired a new business manager, Tilly Haynes of Springfield, Massachusetts (Fig. 10). Fallon's broadsides, pamphlets, and newspaper ads instructed those wishing to book Fallon's Stereopticon to address inquiries to Tilly Haynes at Music Hall in Springfield.

Fig. 10. Tilly Haynes of Springfield, Massachusetts in the 1880s. Haynes served as the business manager of Fallon's stereopticon for several years in the 1860s. From: *Men of Progress: One Thousand Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Leaders in Business and Professional Life in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, (New England Magazine, Boston, 1896), p. 489.

Tilly Haynes was born in Sudbury, Massachusetts in 1828, a descendant of one of the town's founders, who arrived from England in 1635. After attending public schools, he began working at age 14 in a country store in North Reading, Massachusetts. He later moved on to be a clerk in the first and only store in Lawrence. At age 21, he opened his own men's clothing store in Springfield, T. Haynes and Company (Fig. 11).

Fig. 11. Advertising card for the clothing store owned by Tilly Haynes and his brothers in Springfield, Massachusetts. Wells collection.

He also served in the first city government of Springfield in 1852. In 1857, Haynes opened Music Hall on the upper floor of a brick building that housed the Haynes clothing company and a jewelry store on the ground floor, and a saloon and billiard hall in the basement (Fig. 12). It is not clear exactly when Haynes started as the business manager for Fallon's Stereopticon, but there was an exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon in Music Hall in December, 1862. The entire building burned down in 1864, destroying Music Hall and the other businesses. These were rebuilt, and a new Music Hall opened about a year later (known after 1881 as Gilmore's Opera House), along with a new Haynes Hotel. Haynes appears to have remained as business manager for Fallon's Stereopticon through most of its run in the 1860s—his name is mentioned in advertising for exhibitions through late 1864 in cities such as Boston, Springfield, New York, Albany, Troy, Syracuse, Buffalo, and Hartford.[45]

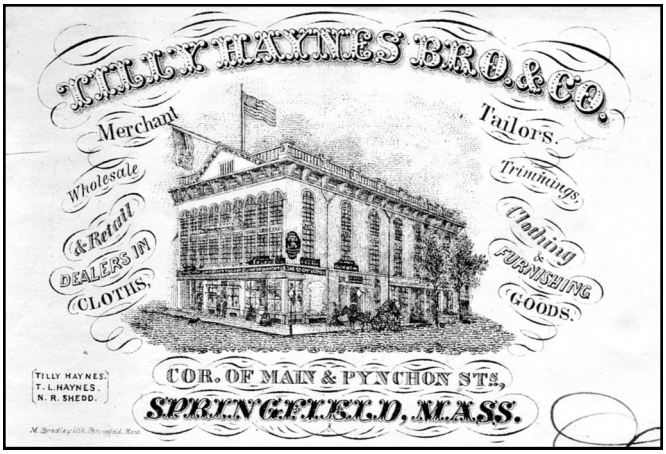
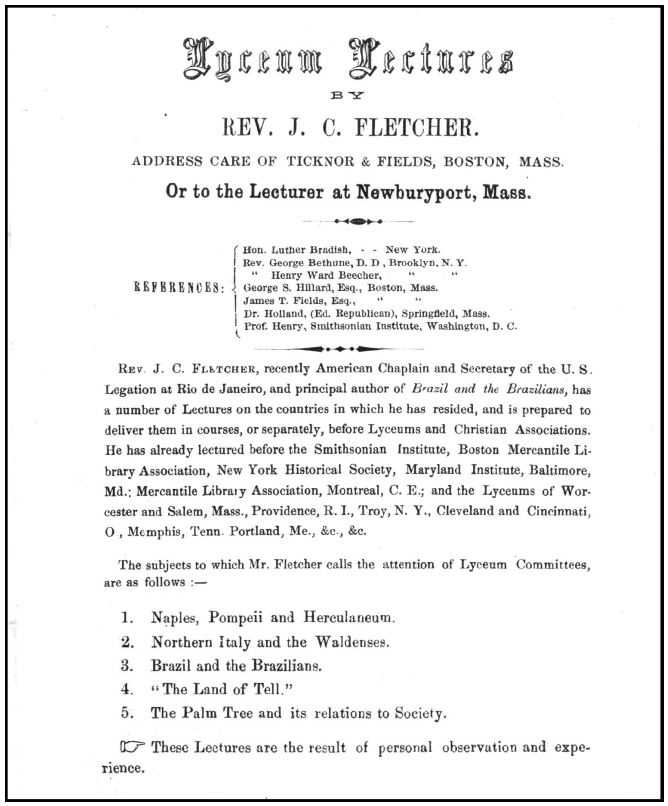


Fig. 12. Letterhead stationary from Tilly Haynes's company, showing the Music Hall Block. Music Hall, which served as a venue for Fallon's stereopticon, was on the upper floors, with the ground floor occupied by retail shops. The letter is dated October 6, 1864. The building burned down in July 1864, so Haynes must have salvaged some stationary from the ruined building. Wells collection.

The Stereopticon Men: Rev. J. C. Fletcher

Another figure in the story of Fallon's Stereopticon is Rev. J. C. Fletcher of Newburyport, Massachusetts. Fletcher's name turns up in some advertising for an exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon in Portland, Maine in June, 1862, where he is listed as the lecturer who described the slides. He also lectured at an exhibition in Boston the same year, and at another in Amesbury, Massachusetts. Apparently, he accompanied Fallon's Stereopticon to other cities as well, but usually the name of the lecturer was not given in advertisements. If Fallon and his associates were looking for a lecturer for their shows, Fletcher would have been easy to find. He was a fixture on the lyceum lecture circuit in the 1850s and 1860s, often sharing billing with such well-known orators as Bayard Taylor, Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Edward Everett Hale, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, and John B. Gough.[46] His services as a lecturer could be booked through the firm of Ticknor and Fields, the leading publisher of Boston-area authors (Fig. 13). He was well known to many leading intellectuals and literary figures of the day, including Beecher, Emerson, George S. Hillard, Oliver Wendell Holmes, the naturalist Louis Agassiz, and Smithsonian Secretary Joseph Henry. Some of these men were listed as references on an 1859 handbill advertising his services as a lyceum lecturer, and some of these same men later appeared on endorsements of Fallon's Stereopticon.

Fletcher was a life-long friend of the Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier, and it was likely Fletcher who persuaded Whittier to attend a showing of Fallon's Stereopticon in Amesbury, Whittier's home town (Fig. 14). Whittier was something of a recluse, and his attendance at a stereopticon exhibition on European travel, for which Fletcher was the lecturer, was considered newsworthy enough to appear in a Boston newspaper several years later.[47] An undated letter from Whittier praising the Stereopticon appeared for several years in advertising for Fallon's Stereopticon, with the following prefatory remarks: "We have been permitted to publish the following extract written by Mr. Whittier to a gentleman who invited him to witness the marvels of that truly wonderful triumph of optical and chemical science, called the Stereopticon, the property of J. Fallon, Esq., of Lawrence. It is said that the evening referred to in the letter is the first that Whittier has spent in any public assembly for



Lyceum Lectures

BY

REV. J. C. FLETCHER.

ADDRESS CARE OF TICKNOR & FIELDS, BOSTON, MASS.

Or to the Lecturer at Newburyport, Mass.

REFERENCES:
Hon. Luther Bradish, - - New York.
Rev. George Bethune, D. D, Brooklyn, N. Y.
" Henry Ward Beecher, " "
George S. Hillard, Esq., Boston, Mass.
James T. Fields, Esq., " "
Dr. Holland, (Ed. Republican), Springfield, Mass.
Prof. Henry, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.

REV. J. C. FLETCHER, recently American Chaplain and Secretary of the U. S. Legation at Rio de Janeiro, and principal author of *Brazil and the Brazilians*, has a number of Lectures on the countries in which he has resided, and is prepared to deliver them in courses, or separately, before Lyceums and Christian Associations. He has already lectured before the Smithsonian Institute, Boston Mercantile Library Association, New York Historical Society, Maryland Institute, Baltimore, Md.; Mercantile Library Association, Montreal, C. E.; and the Lyceums of Worcester and Salem, Mass., Providence, R. I., Troy, N. Y., Cleveland and Cincinnati, O, Memphis, Tenn. Portland, Me., &c., &c.

The subjects to which Mr. Fletcher calls the attention of Lyceum Committees, are as follows :—

1. Naples, Pompeii and Herculaneum.
2. Northern Italy and the Waldenses.
3. Brazil and the Brazilians.
4. "The Land of Tell."
5. The Palm Tree and its relations to Society.

☞ These Lectures are the result of personal observation and experience.

Fig. 13. Handbill from 1859 advertising Rev. J. C. Fletcher of Newburyport, Massachusetts, as a lyceum lecturer. Reproduced courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

Fig. 14. Lantern slide of the poet John Greenleaf Whittier, a close friend of Rev. J. C. Fletcher. Whittier attended a showing of Fallon's Stereopticon, and passages from a letter written by Whittier praising the Stereopticon and Fletcher's accompanying narrative appeared in advertising for the Stereopticon for years. Wells collection.

many years. What his delight was can be seen in his own beautiful prose." Whittier's letter then expresses his pleasure at seeing the exhibition:

> I was not able to see thee after the exhibition of the Stereopticon, but I cannot help thanking thee for the real pleasure I enjoyed in beholding the best works of art, and the most interesting landscapes of the old world and the new. The stereoscopic effect was wonderfully preserved in the largely magnified pictures. The statues, in particular, called forth my admiration. They were solid and rounded forms of grace and beauty. The interiors of Moorish and Gothic Architecture really seemed to invite one's feet upon their tessellated floors and under their sombre arches, or beneath their graceful arabesque galleries and colonnades. Of the various views presented I can only refer to the ruins of Paestum, the Rock Temples of Egypt, the Ford of the Jordan, Melrose Abbey, the Alps and Rhine-land scenery, to say that they were most excellent. I need not add that the interest of their presentation was greatly enhanced by the explanatory remarks by one so well acquainted as Rev. J. C. Fletcher with the real objects, of which these are sun-pictures.[48]

One of the broadsides in which this letter appears also includes a letter from citizens of Newburyport, addressed to John Fallon and dated March 1, 1862, urging him to bring an exhibition of his Stereopticon to their city. One of the signers of the letter was J. C. Fletcher. Yet another letter quoted on the same broadside, dated March 29, 1862, is from citizens of Charlestown, Massachusetts, similarly requesting an exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon, adding, "We also express the wish that Rev. J. C. Fletcher, who gave the running descriptions of the scenes in one or two other cities, may accompany the Stereopticon to this city."[49]

James Cooley Fletcher was born in Indianapolis in 1823. He graduated from Brown University in 1846 and went on to study theology at Princeton Theological Seminary and later in Europe. After being ordained as a Presbyterian minister, he went to Brazil in 1851 as a missionary representing the American Christian Union and the American Seaman's Friend Society. Through the former organization, he also worked to distribute Bibles through the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society. After a brief time in the United States in 1854, he returned to Brazil in 1855 and 1856 as an agent of the American Sunday School Union. He traveled throughout the country distributing Bibles. He also became a strong advocate for closer ties between Brazil and the United States and was a close confident of Emperor Dom Pedro II. After returning to the United States, he co-authored a book on Brazil with a Methodist missionary, Daniel Parish Kidder. Published in 1857, *Brazil and the Brazilians Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches*, was noticed in all the major literary journals of the day and went through many editions.[50]

In the late 1850s and early 1860s, Fletcher was living in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in a fine home on the Merrimac River that he had built, known as Hawkswood, very

near the Amesbury home of John Greenleaf Whittier. The area around his home figured in one of Whittier's poems, "June on the Merrimac," which referred to "The Hawkswood oaks."[51] During this period, Fletcher was on the lyceum lecture circuit, lecturing throughout New England and New York, and as far south as Baltimore and as far west as Columbus and Cleveland, Ohio. Most of his lectures were on his travels in Brazil, although he also lectured on various aspects of European travel.[52] Given his role in narrating exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon, it is interesting that accounts of his own lectures lack any reference to lantern slides or other illustrations. Fletcher belonged to an earlier era of orators who could hold the attention of an audience by painting pictures in words. One account of an 1860 lecture on Brazil at the Cooper Institute in New York described the lecture as follows: "Mr. Fletcher seems to have secured a parish of hearers, and he deserves one, for few better than he possess the art of instructing and amusing in the same breath. Last evening he devoted himself to drawing pictures of life in the tropics, painting the luxuriant forests, and imparting information in relation to the insects, serpents, alligators, monkeys, half-breeds and other interesting inhabitants of that section of the world."[53] A few days later, he delivered another lecture, this time on Switzerland, in the same venue, and again, the newspaper description emphasized his way with words: "His theme was Switzerland, and he considered it with the same clearness of conception, elegance of diction and purity of pronunciation which have characterized hall his recent public efforts."[54] Clearly, Fletcher seems to have been an excellent choice for a lecturer to add vivid descriptions to the slides of European art and travel projected by Fallon's Stereopticon.

The Stereopticon Men: George Reed Cromwell

The association of John Fallon's name with stereopticon shows disappeared in late 1864, and for several years, there was no mention of Fallon in newspapers from the major northeastern cities. Then in 1868, Fallon's name reappeared in newspaper announcements and broadsides advertising the Stereopticon, now being exhibited by "Professor" Cromwell (Table 1). These advertisements billed Cromwell's shows as being exhibitions of Fallon's "original" Stereopticon. The program of slides was very similar to those presented several years earlier, and Cromwell's announcements and broadsides contained some of the same endorsements from leading citizens that had appeared in earlier Fallon advertising, including the letter from John Greenleaf Whittier quoted earlier.[55] It is not clear whether Cromwell actually purchased Fallon's stereopticon and slides, or simply took them on the road as an exhibitor, although the former possibility seems more likely. A notice in a Boston newspaper for 1869 noted that the Cromwell's shows used the only genuine stereopticon in the United States and it was "owned and exhibited" by Cromwell.[56] Later newspaper interviews and biographical sketches of Cromwell are not much help, because he often claimed to have invented the apparatus himself, at times even stating that the idea came to him in a dream.[57]

George Reed Cromwell was born in New York in 1835 (Fig. 15).[58] He studied music and art in Europe and became an accomplished pianist. In the 1850s and 1860s, Cromwell composed many musical pieces, especially songs and arrangements for the piano, including *The Rachel Polka*, *Union Forever*, *Snow Bird Schottisch* (a type of Bohemian dance), and an arrangement of *Ave Maria* (Fig. 16). How Cromwell became associated with Fallon's Stereopticon is not known. One possibility is that he provided piano music for some of the shows, although I have no direct evidence of this. He is known to have accompanied his own lectures with music that he played on both a piano and a melodeon; presumably a different individual operated the lantern. When Cromwell took over the exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon in the late 1860s, he presented more or less the same type of program presented by previous exhibitors. Initially he also seems to have followed the itinerary of Fallon's Stereopticon, revisiting many of the northeastern cities where shows had been given some years earlier (Table 1). By 1870, Cromwell had dropped all reference to Fallon's name in his advertising, perhaps because he acquired a new lantern outfit, or because competing stereopticon shows had become so common that the lantern itself was no longer a novel attraction. For most of his lecturing career, which lasted into the 1890s, Cromwell's advertisements did not refer to his stereopticon at all, but instead focused on the content of his lectures.

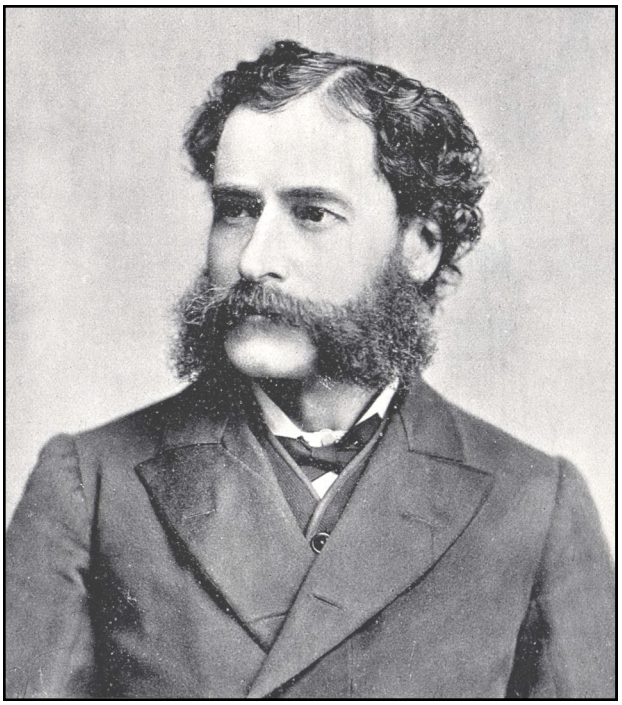


Fig. 15. "Professor" George Reed Cromwell, who took over the exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon in 1868. By 1870, Cromwell had dropped Fallon's name from his advertising and billed his show as "Professor Cromwell's Art Entertainments." He continued as a stereopticon lecturer into the 1890s. Wells collection.

Fig. 16. Sheet music cover for the Rachel Polka, composed by George Reed Cromwell in 1855, before he became associated with Fallon's Stereopticon. The piece was dedicated to the popular French actress Mademoiselle Rachel (1821-1858). Levy Sheet Music Collection, John's Hopkins University Library

On the Road with Fallon's Stereopticon

When Abel and Leyland opened their exhibition of The Stereopticon in Philadelphia in December 1860, the novelty of the show was the projection of photographic slides, something not commonly seen in previous magic lantern shows in the United States. Abel and Leyland were not the first to project such slides—Dr. Thomas Kirkbride, Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, had been showing photographic slides to the patients in his hospital for years, but they had not been exhibited to the general public. When the Stereopticon arrived on the scene, Dr. Kirkbride commented, "It is interesting to know that everything under the name of stereopticon, &c., that is now shown to intelligent audiences which fill some of the largest lecture halls in our cities...was familiar to patients of this hospital some years before these public exhibitions were commenced."[59]

Dr. Kirkbride collaborated closely with the Langenheim Brothers, who perfected the art of making positive photographs on glass, and they supplied the slides used in his hospital shows.[60] Some scholars have suggested that Abel and Leyland also showed slides provided by the Langenheims. Certainly some of the American views shown, such as Niagara Falls and scenes in New York and Washington, could have been Langenheim slides (Fig. 17). Other slides could have come from England or elsewhere in Europe. [61]

Fig. 17. View of Niagara Falls in winter, 1856. Photo by Frederick Langenheim. This photo is half of a glass stereoscopic photograph of the type used in exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon. New York Public Library.

Abel and Leyland's initial programs comprised a miscellaneous assortment of views of distant lands, European cities, and sculpture and other works of art. These sometimes were accompanied by local views around Philadelphia, Civil War scenes, and portraits of Union officers. The first article by "Huon" recalled the opening of the Stereopticon this way:

> When, on that opening night, I beheld flashed on an immense Screen, the counterfeit presentments of Royal Windsor, with its mighty round tower, the streets of the gay city of Paris, the magnificent glories of Versailles, and saw Mont Blanc and the Jungfrau rearing on high their sky towering heads—crowned with untrodden snows; when I could seem to stand by the placid waters of Lake Leman, or in a gondola float under the Rialto (Fig. 18) in the midst of the "City in the Sea," or gaze upon the vast and wondrous dome of St. Peter's, and view

Fig. 18. Lantern slide of the Rialto Bridge in Venice, date unknown. This was a popular subject in the tours of European art and architecture exhibited with Fallon's Stereopticon. Wells collection.

fifty other things of the wonderful and beautiful, I said, "This is Fairyland! I have become possessed of the marvelous seven-league boots, and by their power, I am traveling with startling rapidity over the whole world, and I shall see it all in one night!!!"[62]

On January 5, 1861, while The Stereopticon was still at Concert Hall in Philadelphia, the *Saturday Evening Post* gave a similarly effusive description of the previous night's show, featuring an eclectic assortment of views:

It produces in a wonderful degree the impression that you are gazing upon the real scenes and objects represented. You see the Vale of Chamouni, the Court of Lions in the Alhambra, the City of the Sea, with its palace-lined streets of gleaming water and its Bridge of Sighs, Rome, Naples, Jerusalem, the river Jordan, the Pyramids, not as in the full glare of day, but under the glamour of the moon, as if some wondrous magic had suddenly flashed before you the scenes you had often fondly dreamed of visiting. Many of the views are of the utmost interest and beauty. All who have seen the Falls of Niagara will acknowledge this representation to be excellent.[63]

When the Stereopticon moved to the Assembly Buildings, the program was becoming a little more organized. Newspaper ads for February 1861 included the usual list of miscellaneous views, but noted that there would be a change of program each night, and the views would be described by "a gentleman of well-known literary and artistic taste" (presumably "Huon") and would be accompanied by piano music.[64] By April 1861, when the Stereopticon was closing out its run at the Assembly Building, the program was organized into a more coherent travelogue: Monday—Egypt and the Holy Land; Tuesday—France, Spain, &c.; Wednesday—England, &c.; Thursday—Italy, &c.; Friday—America, &c.; Saturday—Up the Rhine, Switzerland, etc.[65]

Abel and Leyland moved the Stereopticon to the Boston Museum (Fig. 19) in July 1861, where the opening show was attended by a number of Boston intellectuals, including the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Oliver Wendell Holmes, the inventor of the most popular form of stereoscope in America, who clearly would have been very interested in the stereopticon (Fig. 20). A later exhibition was attended by Louis Agassiz, America's leading naturalist. Agassiz actually stepped in to give an impromptu lecture on the slides showing views of Switzerland, his native country.[66] Later publicity for Fallon's Stereopticon often referred to endorsements and even quoted from letters from some of these notable citizens.

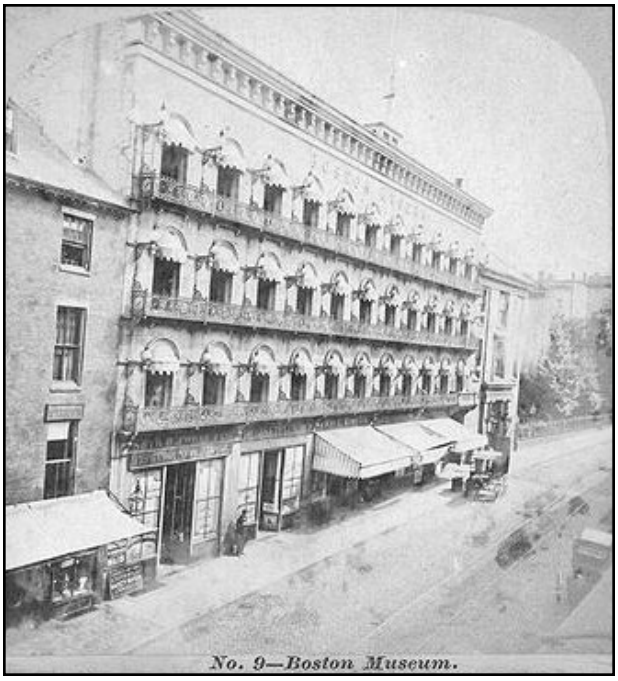


Fig. 19. The Boston Museum, the Boston venue for Abel & Leyland's Stereopticon in 1861. The theater where the Stereopticon was exhibited was on one of the upper floors, with the ground floor devoted to retail stores. Originally opened in 1818 as the New England Museum, it closed in 1830 and reopened in 1841 as the Boston Museum. In that era, theaters often were placed in museums in deference to religious objections to theaters and music halls. The building was torn down in 1893. From a stereo card. New York Public Library.

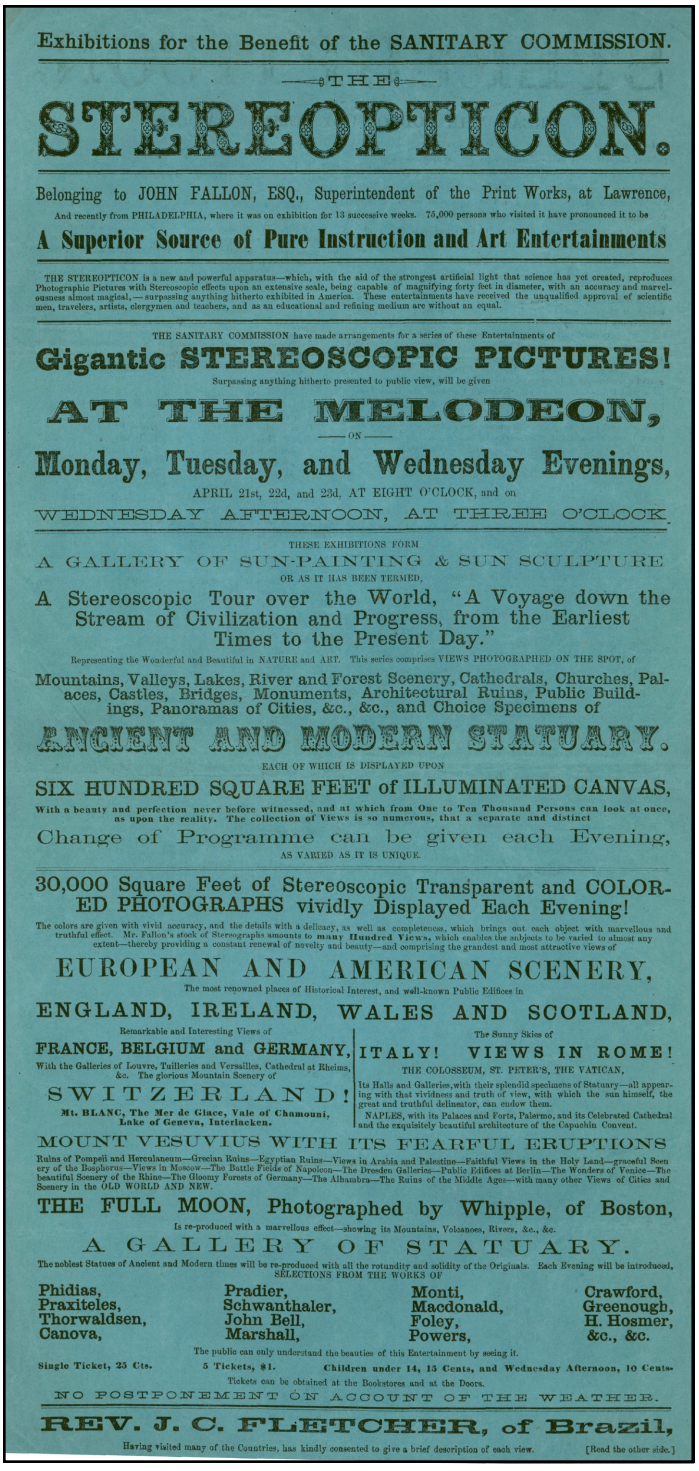
Fig. 20. Cabinet photograph of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the physician and author who was co-inventor of the most popular form of home stereoscope in the United States. Holmes attended the opening night exhibition of the Stereopticon at the Boston Museum in 1861 and later was frequently mentioned in Fallon's advertising. Wells collection.

In Boston, each night's program appears to have been a mini-tour around the world. A broadside for an exhibition dated July 17, 1861, listed the program for Wednesday and Thursday nights, which included extensive views of England, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and America, with a few slides of scenes in the Holy Land and Egypt, and only a single slide from Spain, the Court of Lions in the Alhambra (Fig. 21). A single night's program would include views of Windsor Castle, the streets of Paris, the Pyramids, Swiss mountains and lakes, Niagara Falls, sculpture ranging from the Apollo Belvidere to Hiram Powers' Greek Slave, and much more. Appended to this program were "Scenes of the Mad Rebellion" and "Correct Portraits of Living and Dead Heroes of the Present War."[67]

Fig. 21. Lantern slide, date unknown, of the Court of Lions in the Alhambra, Spain. Note the early camera on a tripod on the right side of the photograph. This was one of the scenes shown by the Stereopticon at the Boston Museum in 1861. Wells collection.

After Thomas Leyland began exhibiting the Stereopticon under Fallon's name, the basic nature of the programs remained the same. By 1862, the stock of slides seems to have expanded, and a broadside for Fallon's Stereopticon listed programs for six nights, with each night having a fairly general title that encompassed a wide variety of views: First Night—Rambles in Foreign Lands; Second Night—Glimpses of the Wonders of All Nations; Third Night—Loiterings on the European Continent; Fourth Night—A Journey to Celebrated Places of History; Fifth Night—Cosmopolitan Wanderings; Sixth Night—A Glance at the Beauties of Nature and Art. Individual views were listed for each night and included notable buildings, natural scenery, and sculpture from various parts of the world.[68] Another broadside for April 1862 described the program for an exhibition at the Boston Melodeon to benefit the Sanitary Commission, which cared for wounded soldiers (Fig. 22). In addition to the usual range of European art and scenery, this broadside listed views of Mount Vesuvius erupting (Fig. 23), the ruins of Pompeii, and photographs of the moon by John Adams Whipple of Boston. Rev. J. C. Fletcher was prominently featured as the lecturer for the show.[69]

Sometimes the exhibitors departed from the general program to devote a full night's program to a single subject.



Exhibitions for the Benefit of the SANITARY COMMISSION.

—THE—

STEREOPTICON.

Belonging to JOHN FALLON, ESQ., Superintendent of the Print Works, at Lawrence,

And recently from PHILADELPHIA, where it was on exhibition for 13 successive weeks. 75,000 persons who visited it have pronounced it to be

A Superior Source of Pure Instruction and Art Entertainments

THE STEREOPTICON is a new and powerful apparatus—which, with the aid of the strongest artificial light that science has yet created, reproduces Photographic Pictures with Stereoscopic effects upon an extensive scale, being capable of magnifying forty feet in diameter, with an accuracy and marvelousness almost magical,—surpassing anything hitherto exhibited in America. These entertainments have received the unqualified approval of scientific men, travelers, artists, clergymen and teachers, and as an educational and refining medium are without an equal.

THE SANITARY COMMISSION have made arrangements for a series of these Entertainments of

Gigantic STEREOSCOPIC PICTURES!

Surpassing anything hitherto presented to public view, will be given

AT THE MELODEON,

—ON—

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday Evenings,

APRIL 21st, 22d, and 23d, AT EIGHT O'CLOCK, and on

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, AT THREE O'CLOCK.

THESE EXHIBITIONS FORM

A GALLERY OF SUN-PAINTING & SUN SCULPTURE

OR AS IT HAS BEEN TERMED,

A Stereoscopic Tour over the World, "A Voyage down the Stream of Civilization and Progress, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day."

Representing the Wonderful and Beautiful in NATURE and ART. This series comprises VIEWS PHOTOGRAPHED ON THE SPOT, of

Mountains, Valleys, Lakes, River and Forest Scenery, Cathedrals, Churches, Palaces, Castles, Bridges, Monuments, Architectural Ruins, Public Buildings, Panoramas of Cities, &c., &c., and Choice Specimens of

ANCIENT AND MODERN STATUARY.

EACH OF WHICH IS DISPLAYED UPON

SIX HUNDRED SQUARE FEET of ILLUMINATED CANVAS,

With a beauty and perfection never before witnessed, and at which from One to Ten Thousand Persons can look at once, as upon the reality. The collection of Views is so numerous, that a separate and distinct

Change of Programme can be given each Evening,

AS VARIED AS IT IS UNIQUE.

30,000 Square Feet of Stereoscopic Transparent and COLORED PHOTOGRAPHS vividly Displayed Each Evening!

The colors are given with vivid accuracy, and the details with a delicacy, as well as completeness, which brings out each object with marvellous and truthful effect. Mr. Fallon's stock of Stereographs amounts to **many Hundred Views**, which enables the subjects to be varied to almost any extent—thereby providing a constant renewal of novelty and beauty—and comprising the grandest and most attractive views of

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SCENERY,

The most renowned places of Historical Interest, and well-known Public Edifices in

ENGLAND, IRELAND, WALES AND SCOTLAND,

Remarkable and Interesting Views of

FRANCE, BELGIUM and GERMANY,

With the Galleries of Louvre, Tuileries and Versailles, Cathedral at Rheims, &c. The glorious Mountain Scenery of

SWITZERLAND!

Mt. BLANC, The Mer de Glace, Vale of Chamouni, Lake of Geneva, Interlacken.

The Sunny Skies of

ITALY! VIEWS IN ROME!

THE COLOSSEUM, ST. PETER'S, THE VATICAN,

Its Halls and Galleries, with their splendid specimens of Statuary—all appearing with that vividness and truth of view, with which the sun himself, the great and truthful delineator, can endow them.

NAPLES, with its Palaces and Forts, Palermo, and its Celebrated Cathedral and the exquisitely beautiful architecture of the Capuchin Convent.

MOUNT VESUVIUS WITH ITS FEARFUL ERUPTIONS

Ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum—Grecian Ruins—Egyptian Ruins—Views in Arabia and Palestine—Faithful Views in the Holy Land—graceful Scenery of the Bosphorus—Views in Moscow—The Battle Fields of Napoleon—The Dresden Galleries—Public Edifices at Berlin—The Wonders of Venice—The beautiful Scenery of the Rhine—The Gloomy Forests of Germany—The Alhambra—The Ruins of the Middle Ages—with many other Views of Cities and Scenery in the OLD WORLD AND NEW.

THE FULL MOON, Photographed by Whipple, of Boston,

Is re-produced with a marvellous effect—showing its Mountains, Volcanoes, Rivers, &c., &c.

A GALLERY OF STATUARY.

The noblest Statues of Ancient and Modern times will be re-produced with all the rotundity and solidity of the Originals. Each Evening will be introduced, SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF

Phidias,	Pradier,	Monti,	Crawford,
Praxiteles,	Schwanthaler,	Macdonald,	Greenough,
Thorwaldsen,	John Bell,	Foley,	H. Hosmer,
Canova,	Marshall,	Powers,	&c., &c.

The public can only understand the beauties of this Entertainment by seeing it.

Single Ticket, 25 Cts. 5 Tickets, $1. Children under 14, 15 Cents, and Wednesday Afternoon, 10 Cents.

Tickets can be obtained at the Bookstores and at the Doors.

NO POSTPONEMENT ON ACCOUNT OF THE WEATHER.

REV. J. C. FLETCHER, of Brazil,

Having visited many of the Countries, has kindly consented to give a brief description of each view. [Read the other side.]

Fig. 22. Broadside advertising an exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon at the Boston Melodeon in April 1862 to benefit the Sanitary Commission. The program of slides, mostly of European art, architecture, and scenery, was typical of the shows given throughout the 1860s with Fallon's Stereopticon. Rev. J. C. Fletcher provided the lectures to accompany the slides. Reproduced courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

Fig. 23. Lantern slide of Mt. Vesuvius erupting. Such scenes, along with photographs of the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum, were popular subjects in exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon in the 1860s. Wells collection.

Evenings given over entirely to views of statuary were fairly common. In May 1863, Fallon's Stereopticon was at the Brooklyn Athenaeum, with two Saturday nights devoted to statuary: Thursday, May 14—Special Programme; Friday, May 15—Comprising the Choicest Views; Saturday, May 16—Statuary; Monday, May 18—Great Britain; Tuesday, May 19—France; Wednesday, May 20—Switzerland and the Rhine; Friday, May 22—Italy; Saturday, May 23—Statuary.[70] In June 1864, Fallon's Stereopticon was at Irving Hall in New York with a special program for one week only, composed entirely of Alexander Gardner's Civil War views, with scenes of battlefields, pictures of dead and wounded soldiers, and portraits of Union generals. Presumably these slides were obtained from the firm of E. and H. T. Anthony in New York, the distributor of Gardner's photographs (Fig. 24).[71]

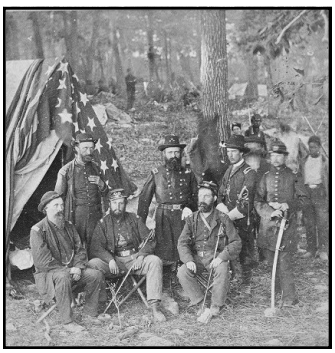


Fig. 24. Alexander Gardner photograph of Gen. Caldwell and his staff at Antietam, 1862. Gardner's photographs were marketed as stereo views and lantern slides by E. and H. T. Anthony of New York and were shown in many stereopticon exhibitions. Library of Congress.

Another program variant involved introducing "instantaneous local views" into the show to charm the local audience. A program at Irving Hall described in the *New York Herald* for August 19, 1863 included the following: "In addition to a brilliant programme of Scenes in the Old World, the following, among the Local Views and Statuary, will be given: Portraits of Generals Meade and Grant, the Seventh Regiment on Broadway, Printing House Square, High Bridge [Aqueduct Bridge, built in 1848 over the Harlem River], La Farge House [a hotel on Broadway], Fifth Avenue Hotel, &c., &c. Washington in Union Square, Eve Listening, and other Statuary."[72] On August 24, the program focused on American views and statuary, including "Eve Listening, Eve Repentant, Venus, Niagara Falls, Washington, The White Captive, High Bridge, Lady Godiva, Sunnyside [the home of writer Washington Irving], Young Apollo, Seventh Regiment, Night and Morning, Scott at West Point, Mount Vernon, &c. &c." (Fig. 25)[73] Clearly these early exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon were not formal topical lectures, but picture shows in which the novelty and beauty of the photographs were the main attractions. This is very similar to the early days of the cinema, a sort of "stereopticon of attractions," in which pictures were chosen first and the lecturer's commentary was adjusted to fit whatever view appeared on the screen.

When George Cromwell took over the exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon in the late 1860s, he mostly continued the sort of miscellaneous program of views shown by previous exhibitors. Sometimes, he would advertise a main topic for an evening's entertainment, but then would add in unrelated slides, including scenes of other regions, comic slides, allegorical slides, and portraits of notable citizens. For example, the program for the first week of November 1869 at Tweddle Hall in Albany included the following: Tuesday Evening, Nov. 2—Italy from Sicily to Venice and the White Mountain Scenery of New England; Wednesday Evening, Nov. 3—Germany and the Rhine, Burlesque upon the Velocipede, and Niagara Falls, Summer and Winter Aspects; Thursday Evening, Nov. 4—Switzerland and the Alps, Philadelphia and the Hoosac Tunnel illustrated, closing for the last time with the allegory "The Christian's Dream;" Friday Evening, Nov. 5—Paris and the Great Exposition, Boston and the Peace Jubilee, illustrated, closing with the Laughable Categorical Tableaux; Saturday Evening, Nov. 6—Ireland and the Lakes of Killarney. Local Views and Portraits in addition each evening.[74]

Cromwell also devoted some exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon entirely to art, particularly sculpture, which was popular with audiences because of the apparent three-dimensional texture of the projected slides. An announcement for a show at Tweddle Hall in Albany on November 11, 1869 advertised an "Exhibition of the Finest Statuary in the Cromwell Collection," including treasures from the Louvre, the Vatican, and the Private Galleries of Europe and America (Fig. 26). Appended to this show were views of "the choicest interiors of the Great Palaces of Europe—places never open to the public eye, and only revealed through the medium of the Stereopti-

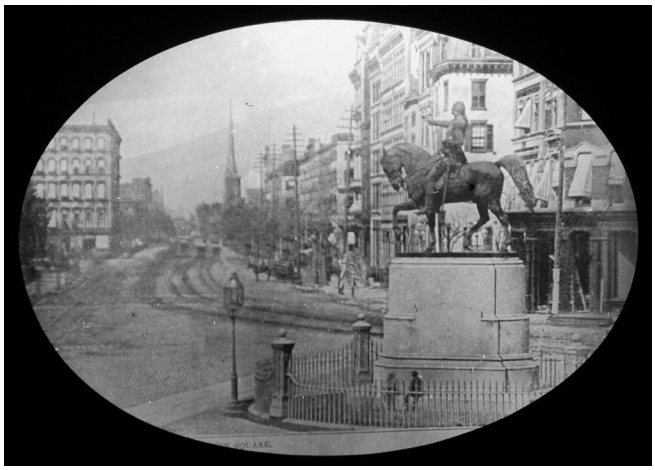


Fig. 25. Local views and slides of American scenery often were mixed in with slides of European art and architecture in exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon, including those given by Professor Cromwell in the late 1860s. Top: Lantern slide of an equestrian statue of George Washington in Union Square, New York, date unknown. Bottom: View of Sunnyside, the home of writer Washington Irving, by Frederick Langenheim, 1856. This photo is one-half of a glass stereo view, the standard size of slide used for Fallon's Stereopticon. New York Public Library.

Fig. 26. Lantern slide of the Apollo Belvedere (or Belvidere). Pictures of this statue often were included in exhibitions of Fallon's stereopticon. A newspaper account quoted in Fallon's publicity pamphlet stated that "Nothing seems so dream-like as the Apollo Belvidere, the Venus de Medici, and *chefs d'oeuvre* of the great Thorwaldsen, which appear upon the scene in all their roundness and beauty." The statue is a Roman copy of an ancient Greek statue and is in a palace in the Vatican. Wells collection.

con."[75] Other ads described the Stereopticon shows as "both a Gallery and a Museum."[76] These art-centered exhibitions presaged the theme of Cromwell's exhibitions starting in the 1870s, when he dropped all reference to Fallon's Stereopticon and began touting his shows as "Professor Cromwell's Art Entertainments."

If we examine the itinerary of Fallon's Stereopticon, we find that it was exhibited exclusively in the Northeast, including large cities and smaller towns in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and New York, as well as the initial showing in Philadelphia (Table 1). Usually the exhibitions took place in a relatively large venue, such as a lecture hall or concert hall, sometimes the largest available hall in the city, as was the case with the Assembly Buildings in Philadelphia. Only occasionally was Fallon's Stereopticon shown in a church. One notable instance was an exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon at Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York in November 1863 (Fig. 27). Plymouth Church was a great barn-like edifice that more

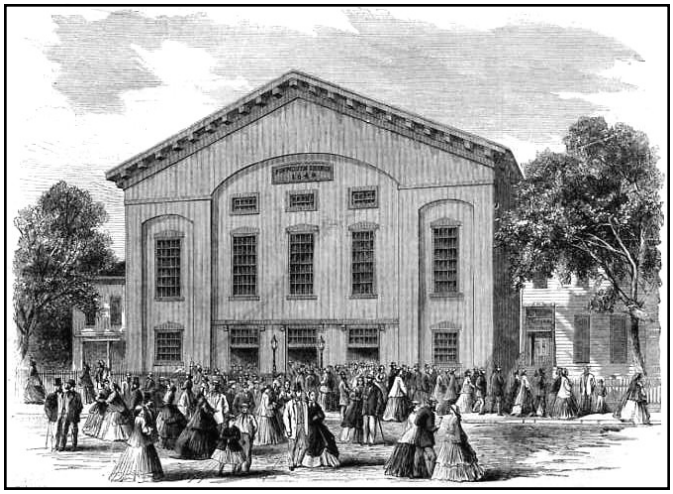


Fig. 27. Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York, in the 1860s. The church was founded in 1847, with Henry Ward Beecher as its first pastor. This building was constructed several years later after fire damaged the original church. Beecher remained there until his death in 1887, becoming one of the most famous orators in America and a leading force in the abolitionist movement. Fallon's Stereopticon was exhibited in the great hall of the church in November 1863 as part of an elaborate celebration of Beecher's return from a European lecture tour. The church continues to the present day as an active Congregational Church and is a National Historic Landmark. From *Harper's Weekly*, August, 1866.

closely resembled a music hall than a traditional church. The Stereopticon exhibition was part of the celebration of Rev. Beecher's return from an extended European lecture tour, where he spread the gospel of anti-slavery and did his best to persuade England and other European countries not to side with the Confederacy in the Civil War. The program included slides of Beecher's European trip, either taken by him or purchased in Europe.[77] The Stereopticon made another appearance at Plymouth Church in June 1865 at the church's annual Floral and Strawberry Festival. Although not specifically identified as Fallon's Stereopticon, it seems likely that it was his instrument, since it had been exhibited there before.[78]

Fallon's Stereopticon also was used for various charitable events. These included the exhibitions at the Boston Melodeon to benefit the Sanitary Commission, mentioned previously, and benefits for various churches. In January 1863, the South Congregational Church in Lowell, Massachusetts, reported receiving $220 from exhibitions of the Stereopticon, which almost certainly was Fallon's.[79] In May 1863, the last ten days of Fallon's Stereopticon at the Brooklyn Athenaeum was for the benefit of the Central Congregational Church Sunday School in Brooklyn.[80] Earlier, in November 1862, Fallon's Stereopticon was exhibited at Huntington Hall in Lowell, Massachusetts (Fig. 28), with the profits going to the poor of Lowell. In November 1868, Fallon's Stereopticon, now being exhibited by

Fig. 28. Huntington Hall in Lowell, Massachusetts, one of the venues for Fallon's Stereopticon. A transportation depot was located on the ground floor, with the exhibition hall above it. The building burned down in 1904. From a stereo view. New York Public Library.

Professor Cromwell, returned to Huntington Hall, this time to benefit St. John's Episcopal Church in Lowell.[82] Cromwell continued the tradition of devoting some of his shows to charities throughout his long lecturing career.

The main New York venue for Fallon's Stereopticon was Irving Hall (Fig. 29), where it ran for an extended period 1863 and returned in 1864 and again in 1868 under the direction of Professor Cromwell (Table 1). Opened by Lafayette Harrison in 1859, it was extensively refurbished in 1862 and given a more elaborately decorated interior. An article in the *New York Times* described the new interior as it would have appeared when Fallon's Stereopticon was shown in 1863:

> Originally, it will be remembered, the ceiling was white; anon the hand of Time touched it and it became slightly yellow, now the skillful Signor GUIDICINI has touched it, and the result is a picture gallery, where the wandering eye can move at will for hours and alight when tired on the shoulders of a new and corpulent cherub, or sport -- if discursively inclined -- with smiling and unsuspicious seraphim. One can now enjoy himself al fresco. Signor GUIDICINI has made the ceiling a picture gallery, and if the flies do not strike contemplative attitudes, and give themselves all the other airs of connoisseurship when they alight on it, they have no taste for art at all, and prove themselves eminently incapable of appreciating High Art in particular. The hand of an artist, Signor GARIBALDI, has also struck the walls, leaving them a beautiful blue without the faintest shade of black; in former times they were crimson, but we have enough of that sanguinary color elsewhere, and so hail its banishment from the walls of our favorite music hall with joy. As it now is, Irving Hall is decidedly the most attractive concert room in the City, —we think we should not err in saying in the country.[83]

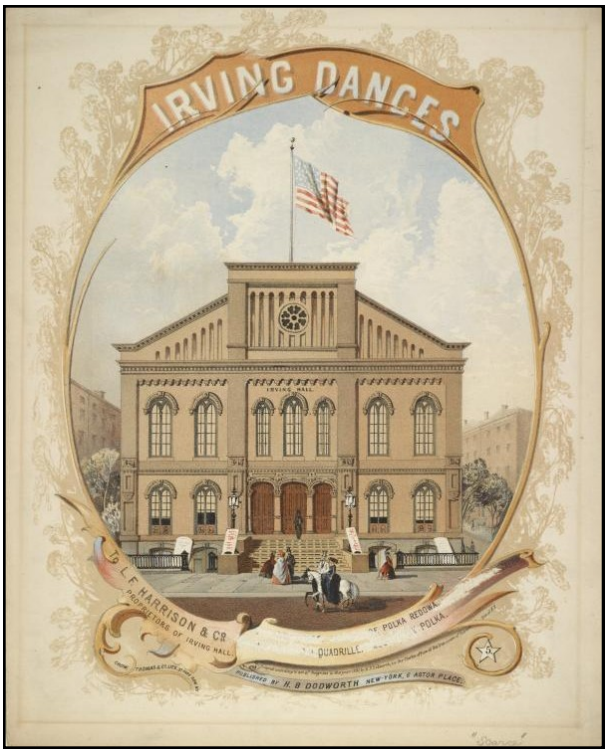


Fig. 29. Sheet music cover showing the front of Irving Hall in New York, a major venue for Fallon's Stereopticon in 1863, 1864, and 1868. The music is dedicated to L. F. Harrison & Co., founders of the music hall. In contrast to many of the venues used for Fallon's Stereopticon, Irving Hall was entirely a concert hall and lacked the retail shops often found on the ground floor of other halls. It served as the home of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra from 1861 through 1863. The building was demolished in 1888 and replaced by another theater. New York Public Library.

Epilogue

For most of the men involved with exhibiting Fallon's Stereopticon in the 1860s, their association with these shows ended after a few years. John Fallon apparently was no longer connected with the Stereopticon after 1864 or 1865. He continued in his position as Superintendent of the Pacific Mills Print Works until 1880, when he became Acting Agent of Pacific Mills. Upon his retirement in 1881, the *Lowell Courier* praised his long career with Pacific Mills: "Mr. John Fallon of Lawrence, the retiring resident agent of the Pacific mills, has earned a reputation

in the department of printing, to which he has devoted many years of his life, which has made him well-known to manufacturers all through New England. There are probably few men living who have a better practical knowledge of chemistry than he has, and in this, his special line of business, he has long been looked up to as high authority."[83] After retiring from Pacific Mills, Fallon remained engaged in civic duties in Lawrence. He served as President of the Broadway Savings Bank and a Director of the Pacific Bank, as well as a Director of the Lawrence Gas Company. He also served for many years on the State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity and was active in local Republican politics in Lawrence.[84]

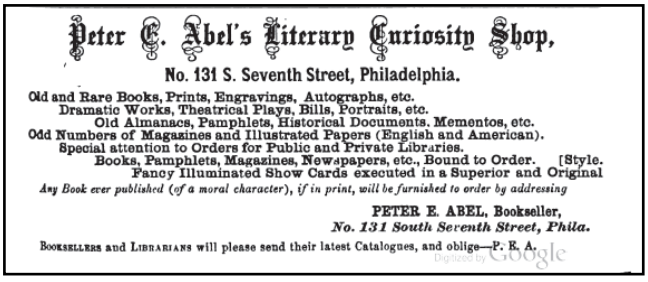
Fallon became quite a wealthy man and acquired a fine home in the Clover Hill section of Lawrence, where he lived during the 1880s (Fig. 30).[85] Some years after his death, the house was listed for sale in the *Boston Journal* and was described as an ideal summer residence for a well-to-do Boston family: "For Sale—By order of the Trustees, the find old Homestead and Estate of the late John Fallon of Lawrence, manager of the Pacific Mills. The Homestead Lot (all in the City of Lawrence) contains 559,917 square feet of land and a find old Mansion House, Stables etc.; an Elegant Summer Residence. An adjoining lot containing about 305,000 square feet, all in the town of Methuen, will be sold with the estate…. The grounds are beautifully laid out, covered with shrubbery and shade trees."[86]

Fig. 30. John Fallon's home in the Clover Hill section of Lawrence, Massachusetts, where he lived in retirement in the 1880s. The woman in the picture is thought to be his wife. The house no longer exists. The site is currently occupied by a retirement home. Photo courtesy of the Lawrence History Center.

The City of Lawrence as a whole was not a wealthy place—in fact, it was the poorest city in Massachusetts, and it also was unhealthy. Waves of infectious diseases such as typhus, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, and various respiratory ailments were common, especially in the crowded tenements near Pacific Mills. The year 1889 was particularly bad, with a death rate so high that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts launched an investigation into the causes of such high mortality.[87] Even John Fallon, in his mansion on the hill, was not immune, and succumbed to pneumonia on December 15, 1889. Obituaries in the local newspapers commented on his long career at Pacific Mills, his involvement in various civic activities, and his membership in a local church. His talents as a scientist also were praised: "One of the best equipped chemists in America, his thoughtful nature led Mr. Fallon into other realms of research and inquiry, and with the close habits of a student, a well balanced mind and a retentive memory, he became one of the most thoroughly informed men on general scientific matters in this section of the state."[88] Yet his key role in bringing the Stereopticon to America some thirty years earlier went unremarked.

Thomas Leyland, who served as the operator of Fallon's Stereopticon for several years, remained in the business of supplying the local textile mills with dyes and other materials. His firm, Thomas Leyland & Co., moved to Boston, but Leyland continued to live in Lawrence. His company later expanded into the manufacture of equipment and supplies for the textile industry.[89] It was still thriving in the 1920s, but eventually was dissolved during the Great Depression in 1933. I have not found an obituary for Leyland, so the year of his death is uncertain. The 1900 census had him living in Boston, widowed and retired at age 70, so presumably he died in the early 1900s.[90]

Peter E. Abel, the first business manager for Fallon's Stereopticon, tried his hand at various business enterprises, not always successfully. After briefly exhibiting a stereopticon on his own, he returned full time to his work in publishing, and for a brief period, he ran a rare book and print shop (Fig. 31).[91] He also continued to serve as a business manager for various amusement enterprises, and was involved in planning entertainment for the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.[92]



Peter E. Abel's Literary Curiosity Shop,

No. 131 S. Seventh Street, Philadelphia.

Old and Rare Books, Prints, Engravings, Autographs, etc.
Dramatic Works, Theatrical Plays, Bills, Portraits, etc.
Old Almanacs, Pamphlets, Historical Documents, Mementos, etc.
Odd Numbers of Magazines and Illustrated Papers (English and American).
Special attention to Orders for Public and Private Libraries.
Books, Pamphlets, Magazines, Newspapers, etc., Bound to Order. [Style.
Fancy Illuminated Show Cards executed in a Superior and Original

Any Book ever published (of a moral character), if in print, will be furnished to order by addressing

PETER E. ABEL, Bookseller,
No. 131 South Seventh Street, Phila.

Booksellers and Librarians will please send their latest Catalogues, and oblige—P. E. A.

Digitized by Google

Fig. 31. Advertisement for Peter E. Abel's rare bookshop in Philadelphia. From: *American Literary Gazette*, May 1, 1869.

In the early 1870s, Abel served as the business manager of the Chestnut Street Theatre [this was the third Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, the first two having burned down] (Fig. 32).[93] In 1875, Abel lost his position at the Chestnut Street Theatre when ownership of the building changed hands, and by 1876, he was facing bankruptcy. On May 2, 1876, within sight of the Centennial Exhibition that would open a week later, Abel walked onto the Girard Avenue Bridge, placed his hat and coat on the bridge, and jumped into the Schuylkill River. It took more than a week for the authorities to find his body. A suicide note left in his hat stated, "Unfortunately I cannot meet certain amounts due, and therefore, under the strict belief that I am of no more use on this world…commit my body to whoever it may concern."[94] Peter Abel was sufficiently well-known as a business manager in the entertainment field that notices of his tragic death were carried in newspapers as far away as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, New Orleans, and Wheeling, West Virginia. As with the other Stereopticon Men, however, his role in bringing the Stereopticon to American audiences was not mentioned.[95]

Fig. 32. The third Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia in the 1860s (building on the right). Peter E. Abel served as business manager of the theater in the early 1870s. New York Public Library.

Tilly Haynes, who took over as business manager of Fallon's Stereopticon from Peter Abel, had a career that was the exact opposite of Abel's—nearly every enterprise he started was a success, and he ultimately became a very wealthy and prominent businessman. His men's clothing store became a thriving enterprise, allowing him to invest as one of the original stockholders in the Indian Orchard Mills. He also established a button factory in Springfield, a flax factory in Mill River, and a sewing machine factory in Chicopee. When his Music Hall and other businesses burned down in 1864, he quickly rebuilt a larger Music Hall and established a new hotel in Springfield, the Haynes Hotel. While living in Springfield, he served in the State Legislature from 1867 through 1870, in the State Senate from 1875 through 1878, and on the Governor's Executive Council in 1878 and 1879. He sold his Music Hall and hotel in 1876 and retired from business, but in 1880, he took over management of the United States Hotel in Boston and made it the largest hotel in the city. In 1892, he took over the old Grand Central Hotel in New York, modernized it, and renamed it the Broadway Central Hotel (Fig. 33). Tilly Haynes died at the United States Hotel in Boston on August 10, 1901, due to "a general breaking down of the system from advanced age." His obituary focused on his work as a businessman and hotel proprietor, but his involvement with Fallon's Stereopticon forty years earlier had long since been forgotten.[96]

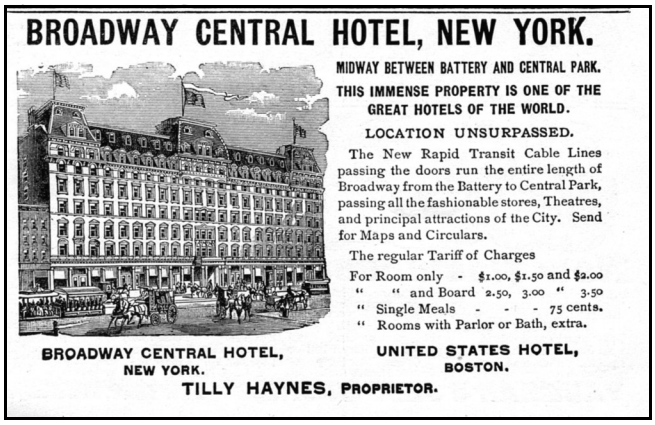

BROADWAY CENTRAL HOTEL, NEW YORK.
MIDWAY BETWEEN BATTERY AND CENTRAL PARK.
THIS IMMENSE PROPERTY IS ONE OF THE GREAT HOTELS OF THE WORLD.
LOCATION UNSURPASSED.
The New Rapid Transit Cable Lines passing the doors run the entire length of Broadway from the Battery to Central Park, passing all the fashionable stores, Theatres, and principal attractions of the City. Send for Maps and Circulars.
The regular Tariff of Charges
For Room only - $1.00, $1.50 and $2.00
" " and Board 2.50, 3.00 " 3.50
" Single Meals - - - 75 cents.
" Rooms with Parlor or Bath, extra.
BROADWAY CENTRAL HOTEL, NEW YORK.
UNITED STATES HOTEL, BOSTON.
TILLY HAYNES, PROPRIETOR.

Fig. 33. Advertisement for the Broadway Central Hotel in New York, under the management of Tilly Haynes. Wells collection.

Rev. J. C. Fletcher is one of many 19th century Americans who had a long and distinguished career, yet is virtually unknown today. He knew many of the leading literary and scientific figures of his day, and a close relative, Grace Fletcher, was married to Daniel Webster. After his stint on the lyceum lecture circuit and serving as a lecturer for some of the exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon, Fletcher returned to Brazil in the summer of 1862, traveling 2000 miles up the Amazon River. Along the way, he collected fish specimens for his naturalist friend, Louis Agassiz, who mounted his own expedition to the Amazon several years later. In 1864 and 1865, Fletcher served as a special envoy of the United States Government in Brazil, where he worked successfully to establish regular steamship service between Rio de Janeiro and New York. He remained in

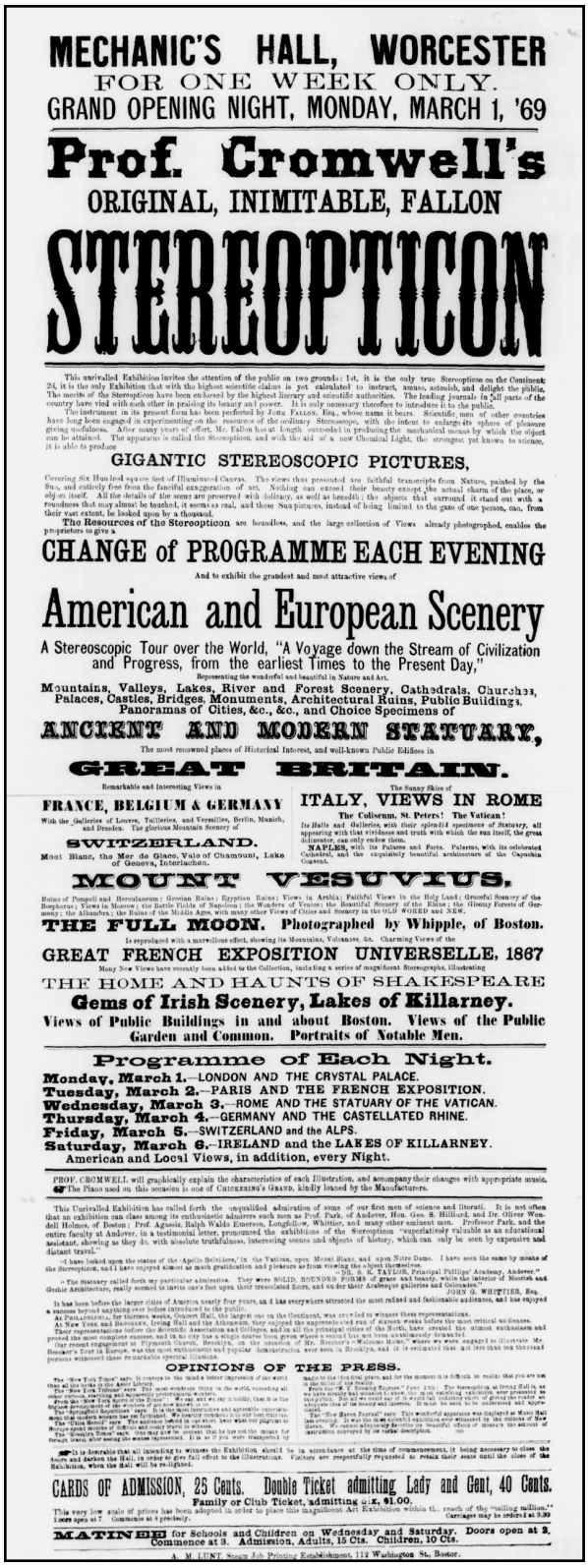
Brazil through 1869 as a missionary and representative of the American Tract Society. In the early 1870s, Fletcher was appointed by President Grant as United States Consul in Oporto, Portugal, and he later served as ambassador in Lisbon. He left Portugal for Naples, Italy, in 1873 and remained there until 1877, doing missionary work and spending considerable time exploring and excavating the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum.[97] After returning to the United States in 1877, Fletcher settled for a few years in his home town of Indianapolis, where he served as a pastor in a local Presbyterian church. He also resumed his lecturing career, mostly speaking in churches on his explorations of Pompeii, although occasionally he returned to his earlier subject of travels in Brazil. There is no evidence from newspapers notices of his Indianapolis lectures that he used a stereopticon to illustrate his talks, although he did sometimes bring drawings or artifacts to complement his lectures.[98]

In 1890, after living in Italy and traveling around Europe, Egypt, and Syria for most of the 1880s, Fletcher moved to Los Angeles, where he served as pastor of several local Presbyterian churches. He also became the president of the Los Angeles School of Art and Design.[99] Again, he took up lecturing, mostly in churches, covering a wide range of topics from his travels in Brazil to the archaeology of Pompeii, the ancient art of Egypt, and "The Artistic Horticulture and Floriculture of the Ancients."[100] He also gave lectures on the life and poetry of his friend, John Greenleaf Whittier, whom he had persuaded to attend one of Fallon's Stereopticon exhibitions many years earlier. Many of Fletcher's early lectures in Los Angeles appear not to have been illustrated. It was not until 1893, when Fletcher was 70 years old, that newspaper announcements began to mention the use of the stereopticon to illustrate his lectures, mostly on the art and archaeology of Naples, Florence, Pompeii, and ancient Egypt (Fig. 34).[101]

Fig. 34. French lantern slide by Ferrier and Soulier of the ruins of Pompeii. Rev. J. C. Fletcher conducted excavations at Pompeii in the 1870s and 1880s and gave lectures on his discoveries, illustrated with stereopticon slides. Wells collection.

Rev. Fletcher suffered a great loss in September 1895, when his wife was run over and crushed to death on a Los Angeles street by a horse-drawn wagon loaded with mining supplies.[102] Within a few months, however, Fletcher was back on the lecture circuit, delivering an illustrated lecture on "Egypt and its Arts" to the Art Association of Southern California in April 1896.[103] While pursuing his lecturing career, Fletcher remained active in the church nearly until the day of his death. The *Los Angeles Times* for March 12, 1901, reported that he had preached a sermon the previous Sunday.[104] Fletcher died of a stroke on April 23, 1901 at his home in Los Angeles. His obituary focused on his exploits as a missionary, traveler, lecturer, and author, and on his many intellectual pursuits: "Dr. Fletcher was a man of great learning, and possessed a mind remarkable for its breadth and grasp on all subjects. His memory was wonderful, stored with facts of men and events of all times and countries to such an extent that he was an authority on historical matters, especially those of the last fifty years, in which he had figured so conspicuously. He enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of the great men of the last fifty years, among them Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, Lowell, Bryant, and Gladstone. It may be said that hardly could the name of a great man of the past half-century be mentioned whom he did not know."[105]

Of all the men involved with the exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon in the 1860s, only George Reed Cromwell converted the experience into a professional career as a Stereopticon Man. Indeed, he eventually became perhaps the most energetic and prolific stereopticon lecturer in the country, with a career that lasted from the late 1860s into the 1890s. Calling himself "Professor" Cromwell, he initially exhibited the Stereopticon under Fallon's name (Fig. 35), largely following the earlier route of the Stereopticon through the cities and towns of the Northeast (Fig. 36). By 1870, he had dropped Fallon's name from his publicity, usually describing his shows as "Professor Cromwell's Art Entertainments." Over the subsequent years, he gave illustrated lectures all over the United States, traveling far from the Northeast to cities such as Chicago, New Orleans, and Salt Lake City. He seems to have retained his focus on art, but gradually his lectures assumed a more traditional travelogue format, with individual lectures focusing on topics such as Paris the Beautiful, Historic Homes of England, or Italian Art. For many years, he continued the practice, first started with Fallon's Stereopticon, of ending his shows with an allegory or a hymn, such as "Rock of Ages." Cromwell continued to lecture until a few years before his death. He died on January 3, 1899 in Bordentown, New Jersey.[106] Professor Cromwell's story will be told in more detail in another article.



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The instrument in its present form has been perfected by JOHN FALLON, Esq., whose name it bears. Scientific men of other countries have long been engaged in experimenting on the resources of the ordinary Stereoscope, with the defect to enlarge its sphere of pleasure giving usefulness. After many years of effort, Mr. Fallon has at length succeeded in producing the mechanical means by which the object can be attained. The apparatus is called the Stereopticon, and with the aid of a new Chemical Light, the strongest yet known to science, it is able to produce

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Its Halls and Galleries, with their splendid specimens of Statuary, all appearing with that vividness and truth with which the sun itself, the great delineator, can only endow them.

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THE FULL MOON. Photographed by Whipple, of Boston.

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Gems of Irish Scenery, Lakes of Killarney.

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PROF. CROMWELL will graphically explain the characteristics of each Illustration, and accompany their changes with appropriate music. The Piano used on this occasion is one of CHICKERING'S GRAND, kindly loaned by the Manufacturers.

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"I have looked upon the statue of the Apollo Belvidere, in the Vatican, upon Mount Blanc, and upon Notre Dame. I have seen the same by means of the Stereopticon, and I have enjoyed almost as much gratification and pleasure as from viewing the objects themselves."
DR. E. T. TAYLOR, Principal Phillips' Academy, Andover."

"The Statuary called forth my particular admiration. They were SOLID, ROUNDED FORMS of grace and beauty, while the interior of Moorish and Gothic Architecture, really seemed to invite one's feet upon their translated floors, and to tread their Arabesque galleries and Colonades."
JOHN G. WHITTIER, Esq.

It has been before the larger cities of America nearly four years, and it has everywhere attracted the most refined and fashionable audiences, and has enjoyed a success beyond anything ever before introduced to the public.

At Philadelphia, for thirteen weeks, Concert Hall, the largest one on the Continent, was crowded to witness these representations.

At New York and Brooklyn, Irving Hall and the Athenæum, they enjoyed the unprecedented run of eighteen weeks before the most critical audiences. Their representations before the Scientific Associations and Colleges, and in all the principal cities of the North, have created the utmost enthusiasm and proved the most complete success, and in no city has a single course been given where a second has not been unanimously demanded.

Our recent engagement at Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, on the occasion of Mr. Beecher's "Welcome Home," where we were engaged to illustrate Mr. Beecher's Tour in Europe, was the most enthusiastic and popular demonstration ever seen in Brooklyn, and it is estimated that not less than ten thousand persons witnessed these remarkable spectral illusions.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The "New York Times" says: In coming to the mind a better impression of the world than all the books in the Astor Library can give.

The "New York Tribune" says: It is the most wonderful thing in the world, rewarding all efforts to secure it by superior professional workers.

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The "Springfield Republican" says: It is attractive and agreeable entertainment, that modern science has contributed to our less rational, but more modern amusements.

The "Boston Traveller" says: The audience looked in one hour, how wide our pilgrim to foreign spots, months of toil and could travel to witness.

The "Brooklyn Times" says: One may now be content that he has not the means for foreign travel, after seeing the scenes represented. It is as if you were transported by

It is desirable that all intending to witness the Exhibition should be in attendance at the time of commencement, it being necessary to close the doors and darken the Hall, in order to give full effect to the illustrations. Visitors are respectfully requested to retain their seats until the close of the Exhibition, when the Hall will be re-lighted.

CARDS OF ADMISSION, 25 Cents. Double Ticket admitting Lady and Gent, 40 Cents.
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MATINEE for Schools and Children on Wednesday and Saturday. Doors open at 2. Commence at 3. Admission, Adults, 15 Cts. Children, 10 Cts.

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Fig. 35. Broadside for Fallon's Stereopticon exhibited by Professor Cromwell in 1869 at Mechanic's Hall in Worcester, Massachusetts. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

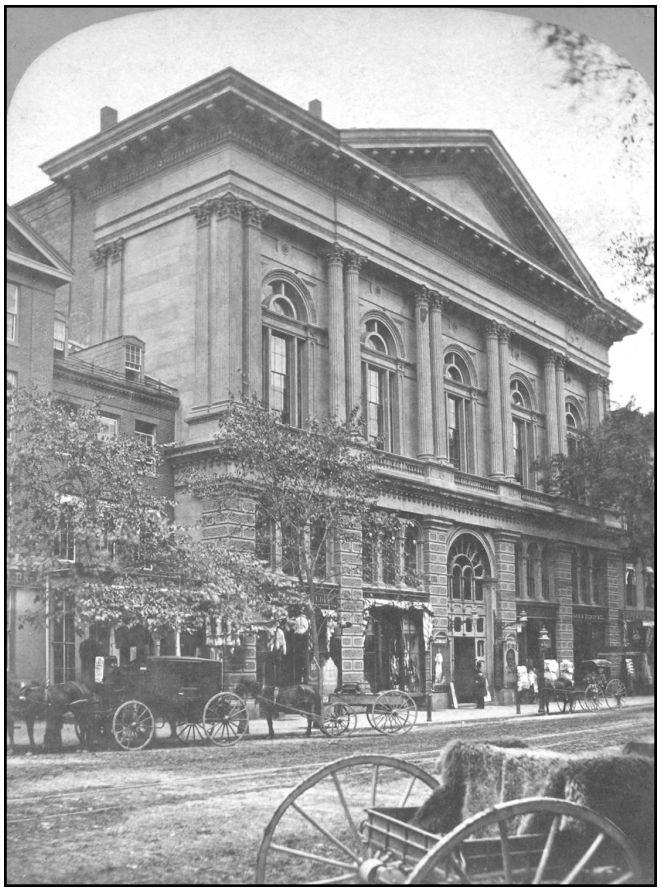

Fig. 36. Mechanic's Hall in Worcester, Massachusetts , one of the most spectacular venues for Fallon's Stereopticon in the 1860s. The building was opened in 1857 by the Mechanics Association and was designed in a Renaissance Revival style. Retail shops were located on the ground floor on either side of the central entrance to the Hall, with the Great Hall on the third floor. A complete restoration of Mechanic's Hall was completed in 1977, bringing the building back to its 19th century splendor as part of the revitalization of downtown Worcester. It is considered one of the finest concert halls in America, with nearly perfect acoustics that allowed speakers to be heard throughout the hall in the era before electronic sound systems. It has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places since 1980. From a stereo view. New York Public Library.

The story of Fallon's Stereopticon reveals the important role of amateurs in starting the craze in the United States for stereopticon lectures illustrated with photographic slides, a form of entertainment and instruction that remained popular for the next 50 years. With the exception of George Cromwell, the musician turned stereopticon lecturer, none of the original Stereopticon Men was a professional showman, or even a photographer. Most were businessmen, who, after a brief involvement with the stereopticon, turned their attention to other enterprises. Probably the same was true for

many of the imitators of Fallon's Stereopticon, some of which popped up within weeks of the first exhibition of Fallon's lantern. Just in 1861 and 1862, there was Sanderson's Stereopticon and Abel's Stereopticon in Philadelphia; Somerset's Stereopticon in Trenton, New Jersey; Evans's Stereopticon in Buffalo, New York; and Bishop's Stereopticon in Portland, Maine. Many others appeared during the next three years in cities from Baltimore to New England and westward to Cleveland, Ohio. Most of these shows were advertised for a few weeks or months and then disappeared. Presumably with a standard admission price of 25 cents, exhibitors would need to fill a fairly large hall night after night to earn a reasonable living. Only a few individuals were really successful, such as George Cromwell, who lectured five or six nights a week for months on end, and kept up this pace for nearly 30 years. Others appeared briefly in the 1860s, taking advantage of the public's interest in the ongoing Civil War, and then faded into obscurity or moved on to more lucrative endeavors.[107]

Acknowledgments

It would not have been possible to tell the story of Fallon's stereopticon in such detail without access to numerous searchable online databases of newspapers and periodicals and the online collections of various libraries and institutions. Among those consulted for this article were *America's Historical Newspapers*, *Chronicling America* (Library of Congress), *NewspaperArchive.com*, *American Periodicals Series*, *American Broadsides and Ephemera*, *Pennsylvania Civil War Newspapers*, *Old Fulton New York Postcards* (mostly upstate New York newspapers), *Hartford Courant Historical*, *New York Times Historical*, *Los Angeles Times Historical*, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, New York Public Library online catalog, Library of Congress online catalog of photographs, *Google Books* and *Ancestry.com*. Not all of the information could be found online. For help with other printed materials and images, I thank the librarians and archivists of the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Public Library, Connecticut Historical Society, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Library Company of Philadelphia, Lawrence Public Library, and the Lawrence History Center.

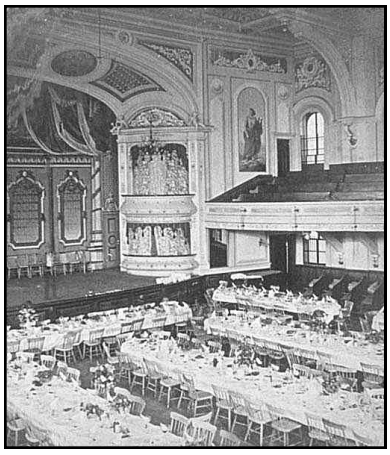

Fig. 37. The interior of Allyn Hall in Hartford, Connecticut, set up for a dinner in the early 1870s. Fallon's Stereopticon appeared in this hall at least three times in 1863. Photo courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.

Fig. 38. Exterior of Allyn Hall in Hartford, Connecticut in 1914, when the theater was destroyed by fire. Like many of the venues used for Fallon's Stereopticon in the 1860s, the theater was located on the upper floors, with retail shops at street level. Photo courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.

Fig. 39. The Brooklyn Athenaeum, early 20th century. Fallon's Stereopticon appeared here several times in 1863 and again in 1868. The building opened in 1852, with retail stores on the ground floor, a library and reading room on the second floor, and a concert and lecture hall for 2000 people on the third floor. From 1902 to 1932, the third floor hall was used as a courtroom by the City of New York. The building was demolished in 1942.

Table 1. Itinerary of John Fallon's Stereopticon, 1860-1869, in the northeastern United States. The list is not complete, as there are mentions of exhibitions in other cities and towns, but exact dates have not been determined. These include Providence, Rhode Island (2 separte exhibitions); New Bedford, Amesbury, Newburyport, and Taunton, Massachusetts; New London, Connecticut; and Hamilton and Toronto, Ontario. Very likely there were multiple showings in Fallon's home town of Lawrence that do not appear in this table, as well as additional shows in Springfield and Worcester, Massachusetts, New Haven and Norwich, Connecticut, and Albany, Rochester, and Buffalo, New York.

Year	Dates	City	Venue	Notes & Sources
1860	December 18-January 4	Philadelphia	Concert Hall	Abel & Leyland; *Philadelphia Inquirer* Dec. 18, 1860; *Saturday Evening Post* Jan. 5, 1861
1861	January 5-April 25	Philadelphia	Assembly Bldgs.	Abel & Leyland; *The Press* Feb. 2, 8, 13, 14, 15; Mar. 20; April 8, 11, 1861; *Phil. Inquirer* Feb. 7, 11, 14, 15, 16, 21, 23; Mar. 11, 13, 19, 20; Apr. 4, 8, 11, 22, 25, 1861; *Arthur's Home Magazine*, Apr. 1861
1861	July 8-20	Boston MA	Boston Museum	Abel & Leyland; *Boston Daily Courier* July 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1861*; Boston Evening Transcript* July 8, 9, 1`0, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1861; broadside in American Antiquarian Society (AAS) (July 17, 1861 (last week); Huon article says July 20 was last night of exhibition
1862	January 12-21	Bangor ME		*Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*; ad dated Jan. 12 that ran through at least Jan. 21 says "The Oxy-Hydro-Calcium Light and Dissolving Stereopticon is Coming!" Not clear whether this is Fallon's Stereopticon.
1862	February or March?	Lawrence MA		*Salem Register* March 24, 1862; Fallon's stereopticon to be exhibited here this week. Quotes letter from citizens of Lawrence praising previous shows in Lawrence.
1862	March 24-?	Salem MA		*Salem Register* March 24, 1862
1862	April 21-May 5?	Boston MA	The Melodeon	Fallon's; benefit for Sanitary Commission; AAS broadside dated May 21, 22, 23; *New York Evangelist* May 7, 1863 (quotes *Boston Journal* as saying it was exhibited for 15 nights at the Melodeon in Boston for the Sanitary Commission).
1862	May 29-June 15	Portland ME	Lancaster Hall	Fallon's; opening May 29; *Portland Daily Advertiser* May 27, 19, 31, June 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 1862. Mr. Fletcher listed as lecturer to explain the pictures; *Portland Daily Advertiser* June 6, 1862: second announcement in same issue says it was shown in London, Boston, and Philadelphia and praised by Agassiz, Whittier, Holmes, and Emerson; one more week; Rev. J. C. Fletcher lecturer
1862	June	Bath ME		Exact dates unknown; *Portland Daily Advertiser* June 9, 1862; closing performance on Saturday [June 15]; moves to Bath next.
1862	June	Augusta ME	Meonian Hall	AAS broadside (undated) quotes *Maine Farmer* on exhibition of Fallon's stereopticon on a Saturday evening in June [1862]. Moves next to Bangor.
1862	June	Bangor ME		Article from *Maine Farmer* quoted in AAS broadside states that Fallon's stereopticon will be going to Bangor June 19 [1862].
1862	November	Lynn MA		Exact date unknown; *Lowell Daily Citizen* Nov. 25, 1862 mentions three exhibitions recently given at Lynn**.**
1862	November 27-29	Lowell MA	Huntington Hall	*Lowell Daily Citizen* Nov. 22, 1862; announces Thanksgiving night show of Fallon's stereopticon. *Lowell Daily Citizen* Nov. 24, 1862 says show starts Nov. 27; profits go to poor of Lowell; other ads Nov. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 1862.
1862	December 6-?	Springfield MA	Music Hall	"Among other amusements of the week we are to have the stereopticon at Music Hall." *Springfield Republican* Dec. 6, 1862; *Springfield Republican*, Dec. 9, 1862, quoted in Fallon pamphlet in AAS, refers to exhibition in Music Hall the previous evening. Another reference to stereopticon in Springfield in *Lowell Daily Citizen* Dec. 20, 1862—"has been on exhibition in Springfield" (not clear how long ago).
1862	December 16-27	Hartford CT	Touro Hall	Fallon's; *Hartford Courant*, Dec. 16, 18, 22, 24, 27, 1862
1863	January 6	Hartford CT		*Hartford Courant* Jan.6, 1863; letter from Joseph Arcan, manager of Allyn Hall, complaining about letter from Tilly Haynes from pervious Saturday saying he had to exhibit in Touro Hall because Allyn Hall was too expensive.

1863	January 8-17	Hartford CT	Allyn Hall	Fallon's; *Hartford Courant* Jan 8, 1863 (to be exhibited next week); Jan. 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 (advertises last showing), 19 (closed on Saturday to full house).
1863	January 24	Lowell MA	South Congregational Church	*Christian Inquirer* Jan. 24, 1863 from *Lowell Daily Courier*; reports earnings of $250 since beginning of financial year from exhibition of the Stereopticon.
1863	February 4-11	Norwich CT	Breed Hall	*New York Clipper* Feb. ?, 1863; AAS broadside quotes *Norwich Bulletin* (date unknown) on exhibition in Breed Hall.
1863	February	Springfield MA	Music Hall	"The Stereopticon, under the management of Mr. Tilly Haynes, is at Springfield, Mass. this week. *New York Clipper* Feb. ?, 1863.
1863	March 3-6?	Albany NY	Tweddle Hall	*Albany Evening Journal* Mar. 3, 4, 6, 1863.
1863	March 12-?	Utica NY	City Hall	*Utica Morning Herald* March 20, 1863; first exhibited Thursday evening; "Fallon's Stereopticon of an excursion to England...will open at City Hall, Utica, N.Y. on the 12th." *New York Clipper* Mar.9, 1863.
1863	March 18-?	New Haven CT	Brewster Hall	"The Stereopticon is announced to re-open in Brewster Hall, New Haven, Conn, March 18th." *New York Clipper*, Mar. 9, 1863
1863	March 23	Albany NY		Letter published in *Syracuse Daily Courier*, Mar. 26, 1863, from notable citizens who attended showing of Fallon's Stereopticon in Albany (letter dated Mar. 23); addressed to Tilly Haynes.
1863	March 23-26	Syracuse NY	Wieting Hall	The Stereopticon—Mr. Fallon's elegant entertainment—opened last night*; Syracuse Daily Courier* Mar. 24, 1863 (several different ads on different pages). Mar. 26, last exhibition of Fallon's Work of Art.
1863	April 1-?	Rochester NY	Washington Hall	*Rochester Democrat and American* April 1, 1863; quoted in Blake McKelvey: *Rochester, the Flower City*, Harvard UP, 1949. Another aricle in *Rochester Express* for April 5 [1863] reports on exhibition of Fallon's stereopticon (quoted in Fallon pamphlet in AAS).
1863	April 14-28	Brooklyn NY	Brooklyn Athenaeum	*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Apr. 8, 10, 13, 14, 15, 24, 1863; Fallon's opening Apr. 14; mentions recent showings in Hartford, New Haven, Springfield, Worcester, New Bedford, Providence, New London, Norwich, Albany. *New York Times* Apr. 23, 1863: "will close 2nd week in Brooklyn on April 25; will open April 29 at Washington Hall for six nights only. *Hartford Courant*, Apr. 24, 1863.
1863	April 29-May 4	Brooklyn NY	Washington Hall	*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Apr. 27, 29, 30, May 2, 4, 1863; Fallon's opening April 29.
1863	May 7-23	Brooklyn NY	Brooklyn Athenaeum	*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 5 (Fallon's returning to Athenaeum in two days), 7, 8, 9, 15 (benefit of Central Congregational Church Sunday School), 16, 18, 21, 22, 23 (closing Saturday May 23); *Hartford Courant*, May 7, 1863; *New York Evangelist*, May 7, 1863.
1863	June 17-July 13	New York	Irving Hall	Fallon's; *New York Herald* June 17, 19, 22, 24, July 10, 1863; *New York Times*, June 18, 29 (Mr. Rose listed as lecturer), July 13, 1863; *New York Observer & Chronicle*, June 18, July 2, July 12, 1863. Other articles mentioning Fallon's stereopticon quoted in Fallon pamphlet at AAS from *New York World*, June 20, 1863; *New York Tribune*, June 20, 1863; *New York Evening Post*, June 20, 1863; *New York Express*, June 18, 22, 27, 1863; *Jewish Record*, June 26, 1863; *New York Atlas*, June 27, 1863; *Sunday Dispatch*, June 28, 1863.
1863	August 17-September 24	New York	Irving Hall	Fallon's reopens on Aug 17, *New York Herald*, Aug. 14, 1863. Re-engagement of Fallon's, *New York Herald* Aug. 19, 24, 1863; *New York Times*, Aug. 19, 21, 22, 24, 23, 24; *New York Herald* Sept. 17, 1863, *New York Observer & Chronicle*, Sept. 24, 1863.
1863	September 30-October 10	Albany NY	Tweddle Hall	"Have again secured the Stereopticon"; *Albany Evening Journal* Sept. 30, Oct. 1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 1863.
1863	October	Troy NY	YMCA	*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Oct. 5, 1863—Fallon's stereopticon now filling engagements for YMCA in Albany and Troy; mentions Tilly Haynes as manager.
1863	October 23-28?	Hartford CT	Allyn Hall	*Hartford Courant*, Oct. 10,1863; "Tilly Haynes is also coming with his stereopticon, and will exhibit at Allyn Hall for a week, commencing on 23rd inst." *Hartford Courant* Oct. 24, 28, 1863 (time for close of exhibition drawing near).

1863	October 30-November 5	New Haven CT	Music Hall	*New Haven Palladium*, Oct. 17, 1863 (stereopticon to be shown 10/30), Oct. 31, Nov. 2, 3, 4, 5 (shows sponsored by Young Men's Institute).
1863	November 12-14	Roxbury MA		Huon article part 5
1863	November 15-?	Lawrence MA	City Hall	Huon article part 5—says they were to show for one week, but this would overlap with time at Plymouth Church
1863	November 19-20	Brooklyn NY	Plymouth Church	Mentions Stereopticon to be shown Tuesday and Wednesday [wrong days] of next week in celebration of Beecher's return from Europe; *New York Times*, Nov. 16, 1863; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov. 17, 1863; Fallon's to be exhibited at Plymouth Church Thursday and Friday evenings (Nov. 19-20); "The Welcome of Mr. Beecher," *New York Times*, Nov. 19, 1863; *Buffalo Daily Courier*, Jan. 24, 1864 mentions that Fallon's stereopticon was shown in Beecher's Plymouth Church on his return from Europe.
1864	January 28	Brattleboro VT	Town Hall	*Vermont Phoenix*, Jan. 29, 1864 (stereopticon exhibited previous evening—probably Fallon's, but not certain).
1864	March 27-28	Oswego NY		*Oswego Commercial Times* Mar. 27, 1864; article mentions stereopticon previous night; concludes tonight.
1864	April 6-12	Buffalo NY	St. James Hall	*Buffalo Daily Courier*, Jan. 31, 1864; Fallon's stereopticon will be visiting Buffalo; quotes *Springfield Republican* as announcing a western tour for the stereopticon; mentions Tilly Haynes. *Buffalo Daily Courier*, Mar. 26, 18, Apr. 4, 1864 (Fallon's stereopticon will begin Wednesday, April 6). *Buffalo Daily Courier*, Apr. 6, 1864: first exhibition of Fallon's stereopticon tonight; other ads Apr. 7, 9, 11, 12 (exhibited for the last time this evening).
1864	May 21-July 16	New York	Irving Hall	*New York Times*, May 20, 1864 (Fallon's the next night); May 23, June 10, 13, 15, 21, 25, 27, 28 (Alexander Gardner Civil War photos), July 13, 14, 16 (last night)
1864	July 21-?	New York	Irving Hall	*New York Times*, July 21,1864; Stereopticon listed at Irving Hall—probably Fallon's
1864	September 12-30	New York	Irving Hall	*New York Times*, Sept. 12, 1864 (Fallon's stereopticon will open for two weeks only); Sept. 14, 15, 17, 21 (one week longer), 30 (last night).
1865	June 8	Brooklyn NY	Plymouth Church	*New York Times*, June 8, 1865; Floral and strawberry festival at Beecher's Plymouth Church; the stereopticon will be exhibited (probably Fallon's).
1868	October 6-18	New York	Irving Hall	*New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1864; Professor Cromwell's showing of Fallon's stereopticon on previous evening; Oct. 9, 12 (last week of show).
1868	October 19-22	Brooklyn NY	Brooklyn Athenaeum	*New York Herald*, Oct. 19, 1868; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Oct. 19, 1868; Cromwell's showing of Fallon's stereopticon, first night; other ads Oct. 20, 21, 22.
1868	November 17-21	Lowell MA	Huntington Hall	*Lowell Daily Citizen*, Nov. 17, 20, 21, 1868; benefit for Saint John's Episcopal Church; Cromwell with Fallon's stereopticon.
1869	January 21-28?	Keene NH		*New Hampshire Sentinel*, Jan. 14, 1869; Cromwell will be here next week with Fallon's stereopticon; Jan. 21 (stereopticon for the rest of the week except Thursday).
1869	February	Boston MA	Tremont Temple	*Boston Journal*, Feb. 19, 1869; last performance of Cromwell with Fallon stereopticon.
1869	March	Worcester MA	Mechanics' Hall	Prof. Cromwell's original, inimitable, Fallon Stereopticon; AAS broadside dated March 1, 1869.
1869	June	Boston MA		*Boston Journal*, June 4, 1869; notice from Cromwell stating that "stereopticon" is a copyright trade mark and there is only one in the U.S., which is owned and exhibited by Cromwell
1869	July or August	Rutland VT		see St. Albans newspaper below
1869	July or August	Burlington VT		see St. Albans newspaper below
1869	August	Montpelier VT		see St. Albans newspaper below
1869	August	St. Albans VT		*St. Albans Daily Messenger*, Aug. 14, 1869; Cromwell about to visit St. Albans with Fallon stereopticon, said to be the only genuine stereopticon in the country, where there are many poor imitations; it has been entertaining audiences in Montpelier for at least six nights; also Rutland and Burlington

1869	October 12-16	Middletown CT	McDonough Hall	*Middletown Constitution*, Oct. 13, 1869; Cromwell with Fallon's (article and ad announcing show); five nights longer (Oct. 12-16).
1869	October 29-November 5	Albany NY	Tweddle Hall	*Albany Evening Journal*, Oct. 29, 1869; Cromwell with Fallon's stereopticon; Oct. 30 (six nights only; G. R. Cromwell, lecturer), Nov. 1, 2, 4, 5, 1869.
1869	November 29-December 4	Utica NY	City Hall	Fallon stereopticon shown by Prof. Cromwell; *Utica Daily Observer*, Nov. 27, 1869 (opening Nov. 29, six nights only)
1869	December 6-?	Syracuse NY	Wieting Hall	Fallon stereopticon shown by Prof. Cromwell; *Syracuse Daily Standard*, Dec. 1, 1869 (opening night Dec. 6); lists Cromwell and T. P. Collins as directors; other ads Dec. 5, 6.

Notes and References

1. Kentwood D. Wells. 2008. What's in a name? The magic lantern and the stereopticon in American periodicals 1860-1900. *The Magic Lantern Gazette* 20 (3):3-19.

2. In my previous article (see note 1), I incorrectly identified Peter E. Abel as Philip E. Abel.

3. Wells (2008) (see note 1), pp. 4-5.

4. John Fallon, *Six Tours Through Foreign Lands. A Guide to Fallon's Great Work of Art. The World Illustrated. A Complete Mirror of the Universe, from the Earliest Times Down to the Present Day*. American Antiquarian Society pamphlet (PAMS S625 Six 1863).

5. The quotation from Emerson appears on a broadside for Abel & Leyland's Stereopticon in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. The broadside advertises a show at the Boston Museum and is dated July 17, 1861. The same quotation and a longer endorsement of the program by Emerson appear in a four-page pamphlet advertising Fallon's Stereopticon, also at the American Antiquarian Society. The pamphlet is not dated, but probably is from 1862. Emerson was always very interested in new developments in photography. See: Sean Ross Meehan. 2008. *Mediating Autobiography: Photography in Emerson, Thoreau, Douglass, and Whitman* (University of Missouri Press, Columbia, Missouri). In 1860, Emerson had attended a showing of projected "Stereoscopic Views" at the Concord Lyceum, presented by a Mr. Monroe, who called the exhibition the Stereorama; this exhibition preceded the opening of Abel & Leyland's Stereopticon in Philadelphia. See: Susan Sutton Smith and Harrison Hayford, eds., *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978), vol. 14, p. 363. Information about the Stereorama at the Concord Lyceum is in a footnote citing the records of the Lyceum.

6. "Huon". 1879. "Stereop. on it's Travels." No. I. *The Exhibitor*, vol. 7 (May 1879), pp. 50-51; No. II, *The Exhibitor*, vol. 8 (August 1879), p. 60; No. IV, *The Exhibitor*, vol. 10 (February 1880), pp. 76-77; No. V, *The Exhibitor*, vol. 11 (May 1880), p. 84. These issues are at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and copies were supplied to me by the library. Vol. 9, containing part III of the article, is not in the collection, nor apparently in any other library collection. **If any readers have a copy of vol. 9, or any parts of this series coming after part V, please contact the author.** The identity of "Huon" is unknown. One possibility is that "Huon" was George Reed Cromwell, who later took over the exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon in the late 1860s. There is no direct evidence for this, but "Huon" was well enough known to C. T. Milligan, the editor of *The Exhibitor*, for Milligan to request that he write an account of the early days of the Stereopticon. "Huon" includes very precise dates for the opening of the Stereopticon in Philadelphia and Boston, which correspond well with contemporary newspaper accounts. This suggests that "Huon," as the first lecturer to explain the slides, may have kept records of the programs and perhaps referred to them nearly 20 years later in writing the series of articles. The only previous scholar to examine these articles is X. Theodore Barber, who quoted passages from them in his Ph.D. dissertation. See: X. Theodore Barber. 1993. *Evenings of Wonder: A History of the Magic Lantern Show in America.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York Univeristy, vol. 1, pp. 98-102.

7. Barber (1993) (see note 6), pp. 95-105. Charles Musser. 1990. *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (University of California Press, Berkeley), pp. 29-38. Barber and Musser both cite each other's work, presumably because Barber's dissertation was in progress when Musser's book was being written, but was not finished until after the book was published.

8. Other published accounts that briefly mention John Fallon include: Erkki Huhtamo. 2001. "Stereopticon Lantern," pp. 292-293 in *Encyclopedia of the Magic Lantern*, edited by David Robinson, Stephen Herbert, and Richard Crangle (The Magic Lantern Society, London); Deac Rossell and Erkki Huhtamo. 2001. "Fallon, John," in *Encyclopedia of the Magic Lantern*, pp. 111-112; Ray Zone. 2007. *Stereoscopic Cinema and the Origins of 3-D Film 1838-1952* (University Press of Kentucky, Lexington), p. 74; Terry Lindvall. 2007. *Sanctuary Cinema: Origins of the Christian Film Industry* (New York University Press, New York), pp. 46-47 [this book gets some aspects of Fallon's story mixed up; see note 80 below].

9. Fallon, *Six Tours* (see note 4).

10. Undated quotation from the *Taunton Gazette*, in Fallon, *Six Tours* (see note 4), p. 8.

11. Undated quotation from the *Utica Morning Herald*, in Fallon, *Six Tours* (see note 4), p. 13.

12. Undated quotation from the *New York Spirit of the Times*, in Fallon, *Six Tours* (see note 4), p. 17. This quotation refers to the exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon in Irving Hall, New York, which places the date in the summer of 1863.

13. Flyer inserted into Fallon, *Six Tours* (see note 4). American Antiquarian Society collection.

14. "How to Prepare Transparent Positives for the Magic Lantern or Stereopticon," *Humphrey's Journal of Photography and Heliographic Arts and Science*, June 1, 1864, p. 33. This article states that "The glass picture for the Stereopticon (Fallon's) is two inches and a half square, and consists generally of one of the photographs of a transparent stereograph." The article also attributes the success of Fallon's Stereopticon to the high quality of the lantern: "We need scarcely remark here, that Fallon's Stereopticon, now exhibiting in Irving Hall, is one of the most successful of these interesting exhibitions. The cause of this success seems to be attributable to the perfect management of a very intense light, which never fails, the application of the very best of transparent positives, and the possession of objectives and condensers in the dissolving and optical part of the apparatus, which can scarcely be surpassed." This was the third engagement of Fallon's Stereopticon in New York's Irving Hall, and by this time, there were many imitators of the original Stereopticon exhibitions.

15. *Philadelphia Press*, February 16, 1861, p. 2

16. "The Stereopticon," *Arthur's Home Magazine*, April 1861, pp. 253-254.

17. "An Optical Wonder," *The Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review*, May 1863, p. 430.

18. Jenny Wetton. 2001. "Dancer, John Benjamin," pp. 83-84 in *Encyclopedia of the Magic Lantern* (see note 8). See also: Jenny Wetton. 1991. John Benjamin Dancer, Manchester instrument maker 1812-1887. *Bulletin of the Scientific Instrument Society*, June 1991, pp. 4-8.

19. W. J. Chadwick. 1878. *The Magic Lantern Manual* (Frederick Warne & Co., London), pp. 67-68.

20. For an interesting account of the development of aniline dyes, see: Simon Garfield. 2000. *Mauve: How One Man Invented a Color that Changed the World* (W. W. Norton, New York).

21. Little is known of the details of John Fallon's life, but bits of his biography can be reconstructed from the following sources: "The retirement of Mr. Fallon," *Lowell Courier*, May 7, 1881, p. 1. John Fallon obituaries in *Lawrence Sentinel*, Dec, 20, 1889; *Lawrence Daily American*, Dec. 16, 1889; *Lawrence Daily Eagle*, December 16, 1889; *Lawrence Weekly American*, Dec. 20, 1889; *Springfield Republican*, December 16, 1889, p. 5; *Boston Daily Journal*, December 16, 1889, p. 1. The immigration record for John Fallon (accessed through *Ancestry.com*) confirms that he arrived in Boston in 1845. I have not been able to find a photograph of Fallon.

22. Benson J. Lossing. 1876. *History of American Industries and Arts* (Porter & Coates, Philadelphia), pp. 288-290. H. A. Wadsworth. 1880. *History of Lawrence, Massachusetts* (Hammon Reed, Lawrence), pp. 92-96. *The Lawrence Gazetteer* (Charles G. Merrill, Lawrence, 1893), p. 19. Donald B. Cole. 1963. *Immigrant City: Lawrence, Massachusetts 1845-1921* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill). Pamela Caye Edwards. 2000. *Pacific Mills in New England and the South: Comparative Case Studies of Regional Industrial Development.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware.

23. In a Harvard study of 19th century American business leaders, John Fallon was reported to be one of only seven foreign-born men to rise to a high position in a textile company, whereas 93 men were native-born Americans. See: Frances W. Gregory and Irene D. Neu. 1952. "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870s: Their Social Origins," in *Men in Business: Essays in the History of Entrepreneurship*, edited by William Miller (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts), pp. 196-197.

24. *Programme of the Thirtieth Meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, August 1881 in Cincinnati, Ohio*. John Fallon of Lawrence, Massachusetts, and his daughter Emma are listed as attendees at the meeting.

25. "John Fallon No More," *Lawrence Daily American*, December 16, 1889.

26. *The Technology Review* (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), vol. III (1901), pp. 200-201. The painting commissioned in 1868 by John Fallon was "The Discovery of Color from Coal (Aniline Dyes)" by Anna Lea Merritt, a prominent portrait painter. It depicted the chemical laboratory of the French chemist Michel-Eugène Chevreul (1786-1889), with three chemists in the painting: August Wilhelm von Hofmann (1818 - 1892) of Berlin, Professor Louth of Paris, and John Lightfoot (1832-1872) of England. All of these men were involved in the development of aniline dyes that made John Fallon's career at Pacific Mills possible. The painting was donated to MIT in 1901. Its current location is unknown; it is not listed in the online catalog of the MIT Museum.

27. Fallon's patent for "An improved blanket for calico printing machines" is listed in *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, n.s. vol. 34 (1857), p. 94.

28. The story of Fallon's experiments with the cost of lighting probably was first published by a Lawrence newspaper and later was picked up by several small town newspapers, including the *Maine Farmer*, January 20, 1859 and the *Pittsfield Sun*, January 6, 1859. Fallon later served as a Director of the Lawrence Gas Company.

29. Fallon's account of the exhibit of microscopic writing appeared in the *Lawrence Sentinel*, October 4, 1862, p. 1. For a summary of the microscopic writing of William Webb, see Brian Stevenson,"William Webb, 1815-1888" (http://microscopist.net/WebbW.html) (updated August 2011; accessed January 12, 2012). The quote from *Fraser's Magazine* (1862), vol. 66, pp. 642-643, comes from this webpage. The sensation created by miniature writing at the International Exhibition was only one manifestation of public interest in miniature images in the 1860s. John Benjamin Dancer, who may have made Fallon's stereopticon (see note 18) invented a process in the 1850s for reducing photographs to microscopic size. These could be viewed through a microscope, but in the late 1850s, René Dagron invented a small device with a viewing lens, known as a Stanhope, which allowed such images to be viewed inexpensively. Dagron displayed examples of Stanhopes at the 1862 International Exhibition, where they could have been seen by Fallon. See: "Stanhope (optical bijou)," *Wikipedia*. Other photographers soon took up the production of micro-photographs. In my collection, I have a microscope slide made by the Langenheim Brothers of Philadelphia with a photograph of the Ten Commandments in a space about an eighth of an inch wide.

30. "The Microphone at Home. An Illustration of Professor Hughes's Invention at Lawrence (from the *Lawrence American*)." *Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 30, 1878, p. 2. The story also was reprinted in the *St. Lawrence (New York) Plain Dealer* and several other newspapers from Vermont to New Orleans. Fallon precisely duplicated the demonstration given by Hughes, even placing a ticking watch next to the microphone. The set-up used by Hughes is described in J. E. H. Gordon, 1880, *A Physical Treatise on Electricity and Magnetism* (D. Appleton & Co., New York), pp. 280-281.

31. The award from the Paris International Exhibition is discussed in Lossing, *History of American Industries* (see note 22), p. 290. See also: "Pacific Mills, Lawrence, Massachusetts: Paper Presented at the Paris Exposition," pp. 123-130 in William P. Blake, ed., *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition, 1867* (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1870).

32. John Fallon's report on the Pacific Mills Library appeared in: William J. Rhees. 1859. *Manual of Public Libraries, Institutions, and Societies in the United States and British Provinces of North America* (J. P. Lippincott, Philadelphia), p. 147.

33. Letter to the *Salem Gazette*, quoted in Fallon, *Six Tours* (see note 4), p. 5. Another letter extolling the virtues of the Stereopticon was written by a number of prominent Lawrence citizens to the citizens of Salem and published in the *Salem Register*, March 24, 1862, p. 2. I searched microfilm copies of the *Lawrence Sentinel* for 1861-1863 in the Lawrence Public Library, but could not find any announcement of a public exhibition of the Stereopticon.

34. Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries* (see note 32), p. 147; Cole, *Immigrant City* (see note 22), p. 22.

35. Louis Agassiz. 1857. *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*. Vol. 1. (Little Brown & Co., Boston). In my copy of the first volume, the list of subscribers at the end of the volume includes Pacific Mills of Lawrence. The published catalogue of the Pacfic Mills Library (see note 36) lists this work and four other books by Agassiz.

36. *Catalogue of the Pacific Mills Library* (Geo. S. Merrill & Crocker, Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1876). A copy of this rare volume is in the Lawrence Public Library. In addition to novels and stories by all of the leading writers of the 19th century, the Pacific Mills Library was well-stocked with tracts from the Religious Tract Society, all manner of biographies and historical works, government publications such as reports of exploring expeditions, and a wide assortment of scientific books. These included works by the leading naturalists of the day, such as Louis Agassiz, Charles Darwin, Alfred Russel Wallace, John Lubbock, Alexander von Humboldt, Thomas Huxley, and others; and popular works on science by authors such as John Tyndall, George Henry Lewes, Charles Kingsley, Louis Figuier, and Mary Somerville. Of particular interest to John Fallon would have been the many treatises and more popular works on chemistry, including the *Complete Works on Chemistry* by Justus von Liebig, Lyon Playfair's *Chemical Principles Involved in Manufactures* (1862), W. M. Watts's *Organic Chemistry* (1873), J. A. Porter's *Principles of Chemistry* (1857), J. L. Comstock's *Elements of Chemistry* (1864), J. C. Booth's *Encyclopedia of Chemistry* (1853), and J. Bell's *Chemical and Pharmaceutical Processes* (1862). Books related to Fallon's work as a Director of the Lawrence Gas Company also were present, including *A Treatise on*

Gas Works by S. Hughes (1866) and *Practical Treatise on Gas and Ventilation* by E. E. Perkins (1856). There were several books in the library on meteorology, a longtime interest of Fallon's. There was even a copy of *Brazil and the Brazilians* (1857), co-authored by Rev. J. C. Fletcher, who served as a lecturer for some of the exhibitions of Fallon's Stereopticon.

37. Fallon, *Six Tours* (see note 4), p. 3.

38. *Hartford Daily Courant*, December 22, 1862, p. 2.

39. The quotations from the *New York Tribune* and the *Rochester Express* appear in Fallon, *Six Tours* (see note 4); they are not dated, but probably are from 1863. The reference to Mr. Rose as the lecturer appeared in the *New York Times* for June 29, 1863, p.1.

40. Most of the basic biographical information on Thomas Leyland comes from documents accessed through *Ancestry.com*, including Lawrence directories for 1859, 1868, 1871, 1881; Boston directory 1878; Census records for Lawrence 1870, 1880; Boston, 1900.

41. "Huon," "Stereop.", part V (see note 6).

42. Most of the information on Peter E. Abel's life comes from a long obituary published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 4, 1876, p. 2.

43. Advertisement for A Grand Prize Ball, Select, Military and Civic at Music Fund Hall, Philadelphia to benefit wounded soldiers (Peter E. Abel listed among two dozen managers), *The Press*, December 30, 1862, p. 3; advertisements for 14th Annual Fancy and Citizens' Dress Ball (P. E. Abel, Floor Manager), *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 7, 1864, p. 3 and *The Press*, March 8, 1864, p. 3; advertisement for Grand Carnival in Cape May, New Jersey (P. E. Abel, Director), *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 9, 1864, p. 1; article on "The Arrangements at Congress Hall" in Philadelphia (Peter E. Abel, Harry C. Risley, J. C. Risley, and J. Bates McMullin, Directors), *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, August 9, 1865; advertisements for La Coterie Carnival, at the Academy of Music, Philadelphia (Peter E. Abel, Harry C. Risley, and John C. Risley, Directors), *Illustrated New Age*, December 9, 1865, January 18, 1866, p. 3 and *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, January 25, 1866 and *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 18, 1866, p. 8; advertisement for La Coterie fancy dress ball at New York Academy of Music (Peter E. Abel and Harry C. Risley, Directors), *New York Herald*, January 4, 1869, p. 7; advertisement for La Coterie Carnival at Marini's Assemby Rooms, Washington, D. C. (L. G. Marini and Peter E. Abel, Directors), Washington *Critic-Record*, January 25, 1869, p. 2.

44. Advertisements for P. E. Abel's Stereopticon in Philadelphia, *The Press*, November 25, 27, December 23, 30, 1862; January 2, 3, 1863. Advertisements for Abel's Original Mammoth Stereopticon in Cleveland, Ohio, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 5, 15, 16, 1865.

45. Sources for biographical information on Tilly Haynes include: "Haynes, Tilly," in *Men of Progress: One Thousand Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Leaders in Business and Professional Life in the Commonwealth of Masschusetts*, compiled under the supervision of Richard Herndon and edited by Edwin M. Bacon (New England Magazine, Boston, 1896), pp. 488-489; Moses King, ed. 1884. *King's Handbook of Springfield, Masschusetts* (James D. Gill, Springfield), pp. 266-267; "Tilly Haynes Dead," *New York Times*, August 11, 1901; "The Springfield Fire," *Hartford Daily Courant*, July 26, 1864, p. 2; "Great Fire in Springfield, Mass.—Loss $100,000," *New York Times*, July 25, 1864, p. 8.

46. Advertisement for Tenth Annual Course of Lectures before the Cleveland Library Association, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, December 27, 1858, p. 2 (includes lectures by Matthew Fontaine Maury, George Vandenhoff, J. Sidney Henshaw, Oliver P. Baldwin, **Rev. J. C. Fletcher**, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Bayard Taylor); advertisement for Eleventh Annual Course of Lectures before the Cleveland Library Association, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, November 2, 1859, p. 2 (includes lectures by Rev. T. Starr King, George Vandenhoff, Rev. H. W. Bellows, Dr. George B. Winship, Horace Greeley, Dr. J. G. Holland, **Rev. J. C. Fletcher**, Bayard Taylor, Rev. E. H. Chapin, and Henry J. Raymond); advertisement for Mercantile Library Association lectures at the Brooklyn Athenaeum, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 2, 1859, p. 3 (includes lectures by Nathaniel P. Banks, George W. Curtis, J. G. Holland, Rev. T. Starr King, John P. Hale, Edward G. Parker, E. H. Chapin, **Rev. J. C. Fletcher**, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Martin B. Anderson, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Wendell Phillips, Richard O'Gorman, and John G. Saxe); advertisement for Institute Lectures in New Haven, Connecticut, *New Haven Palladium*, October 16, 1863, p.3 (includes The Stereopticon and lectures by Wendell Phillips, Rev. E. H. Chapin, John B. Gough, George W. Curtis, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, **Rev. J. C. Fletcher**, Edward Everett, and Charles Sumner); advertisement for lectures at the Salem Lyceum (Thirty-eighth Course), *Salem Register*, November 8, 1866, p. 2 (incudes lectures by Gen. Benjamin Butler, Frederic Douglass, Rev. John Cotton Smith, James W. Patterson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and **Rev. J. C. Fletcher**); advertisement for Second Course of Lectures at Middlesex Mechanics' Association, Lowell, Masschusetts, *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, November 28, 1866, p. 3 (includes lectures by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Bayard Taylor, **Rev. J. C. Fletcher**, Dr. George B. Loring, Gov. Alexander H. Bullock, George Vandenhoff, Rev. Dr. A. A. Willits, E. P. Whipple, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, and Wendell Phillips).

47. "Whittier at a Lecture," *Boston Journal*, December 13, 1867, p. 2. The article states, "It was recently said that Whittier, the poet, never attended a lecture. This is a mistake, for although the Quaker poet is an invalid and very rarely goes out in the evening, he once made an exception to this general rule by 'assisting,' as our French friends say, at a lecture on 'European Travel,' illustrated by the stereopticon, and given by Rev. J. C. Fletcher at Amesbury."

48. The letter from Whittier is quoted in full on the back of an 1862 broadside for Fallon's Stereopticon at the Boston Melodeon for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission (American Antiquarian Society collection). The same letter appeared on other broadsides and in Fallon's pamphlets, often without the final sentence mentioning Fletcher. The same letter was frequently quoted by George Reed Cromwell long after he stopped referring to Fallon's Stereopticon in his own publicity.

49. These letters also appear on the back of the Sanitary Commission broadside.

50. Biographical information on Fletcher comes from: "A Distinguished Arrival," *Los Angeles Times*, July 6, 1890, p. 6 (article about Fletcher moving to Los Angeles); "Dr. J. C. Fletcher, a Notable Man, Dead," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1901, p. 8.

51. Frances H. Underwood. 1884. *John Greenleaf Whittier, a Biography*. James R. Osgood & Co., Boston), p. 316-317. Hawkswood no longer exists, having been replaced by a housing development called Hawkswood Estates.

52. Notices and articles about Fletcher's lectures on Brazil and European travel appeared in newspapers from many cities in the late 1850s and 1860s. These show that Fletcher traveled widely on the lecture circuit, especially in the Northeast: *Baltimore Sun*, December 9, 1856; *The Daily Atlas* (Boston), February 19, 1857; *Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics* (New Hampshire), November 13, 1858; *Daily Ohio Statesman* (Columbus), December 30, 1858; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, December 31, 1858 and February 24, 1859; *New York Daily Tribune*, September 14, 1859; *Lowell (Massachusetts) Daily Citizen and News*, November 11, 1859 (and many other dates in 1859 and early 1860); *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, January 18, 1860; *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, April 21, 1860 and November 1, 1860; *New London (Connecticut) Daily Chronicle*, November 7, 1860; *New York Times*, November 15, 29, December 8, 15, 1860; *New York Daily Tribune*, December 3, 1860 and other dates in December; *New York Herald*, February 18, 1863; *New York Times*, February 28, 1863; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 2, 1863; *Salem (Massachusetts) Register*, October 26, 1863; *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, December 30, 1863; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 16, 1864; *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, February 9, 1864; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, December 16, 1864; *Salem Register*, December 17, 1866; *New York Herald*, February 7, 1867; *Pittsfield Sun*, March 14, 1867; *Boston Daily Journal*, September 13, 1867;

New York Times, February 8, 1868.

53. "Lecture on Brazil," *New York Times*, November 29, 1860, p. 8.

54. "Rev. J. C. Fletcher on Switzerland," *New York Times*, December 8, 1860, p. 8.

55. A broadside for "Prof. Cromwell's Original, Inimitable Fallon Stereopticon" at Mechanic's Hall in Worcester, Massachusetts, opening on March 1, 1869, has a brief passage from the Whittier letter, along with other endorsements that originally had appeared on Fallon's publicity notices (American Antiquarian Society collection).

56. *Boston Journal*, June 4, 1869.

57. Cromwell's claim to have invented the Stereopticon himself can be found in *Descriptive Catalogue of Antique and Modern Sculpture Presented at Professor Cromwell's Art Entertainments, with Biographical Sketch by A. C. Wheeler*, published by George Reed Cromwell, 1870 (available through Google Books). This pamphlet fails to mention that Cromwell had any association with Fallon's Stereopticon and back-dates his discovery to 1858, not only before the debut of Fallon's exhibitions, but a full ten years before Cromwell actually began showing lantern slides: "It was in America, in 1858, that the camera suddenly flashed its ray of intelligence across his path and lit the whole matter with a sudden gleam. Why not show the actualities of Europe, just as they exist, details and all! True, why not? It had never been done. Smeary panoramas had hinted it. Now and then a canvass from some French gallery had offered an inkling of it. Men had sent pictures that were mere suggestions; why not bring the camera to the work of completing a perfect historical series, and offer the new portraits in the fresh blaze of scientific light? The idea was a new one. It developed with thought into a comprehensive and feasible plan. Stereoscopic pictures were just attracting the attention of the public, but no attempt had been made to enlarge them to dimensions of a diorama, or to light them with the blaze of an artificial sunlight. No sooner had this project settled into definite shape, than the Professor set about its accomplishment with thorough Yankee enterprise." In truth, Professor Cromwell's Yankee enterprise involved acquiring Fallon's Stereopticon and his slides in 1868 and presenting essentially the same programs that had been given under Fallon's name since the early 1860s. Throughout his lecturing career, newspapers published a number of fictional accounts of Cromwell's role in "inventing" the stereopticon, some of them contradicting each other. In 1883, at a time when Cromwell had taken to calling his stereopticon the "Cosmoscope," he claimed in an interview to have been experimenting with magic lantern projection since childhood and to have invented the Cosmoscope: "I had been long in Europe, and I had made a great collection of views. I had visited many of the leading opticians in London and Paris for the purpose of obtaining an apparatus for projection without any success. I finally decided to try and make one myself.... One day I took my invention apart and cleaned up; well, I put it together wrong (according to the books), but what was my surprise upon projecting a picture, to discover a realization of my dreams" ("Professor George R. Cromwell. Something About the Man with the Wonderful Cosmoscope," *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, January 13, 1883). He claimed in the same interview that even the operator of the lantern was "ignorant of the principle of its marvelous results," which of course is nonsense. Another article that appeared in several newspapers in 1889 stated that, after the invention of limelight, "The next great step in the perfection of this apparatus was a mechanical appliance invented by Professor G. W. Cromwell, an American, by which the pictures were given the roundness and solid effect of the 'stereoscope,' made to 'stand out,' as artists say. A queer thing about that invention is that it came to him, as he affirms, in a dream, and so perfectly that within a forenoon after he waked he had it made and it worked perfectly" ("Our New York Letter. J. H. Connelly Writes of Photographic Sports. The Evolution of the Magic Lantern to the Stereopticon..." *The Ledger* [Warren, Pennsylvania], July 26, 1889; *Newark Daily Advocate* [Ohio], July 26, 1889; *Syracuse Evening Herald*, July 26, 1889). In 1893, another article described Cromwell as "the inventor of the stereopticon and one of the ablest lecturers of the Nineteenth Century" (*Trenton Times* [New Jersey], October 14, 1893). Yet in 1890, an article in another newspaper stated that "The 'cosmoscope' is an invention of Cromwell's, who bitterly resents his entertainment being called 'a stereopticon lecture;' but as the public is not educated up to 'cosmoscope' yet, the only thing that will convey the idea of the pictures is the word stereoscope" (*Salt Lake Tribune*, June 22, 1890).

58. There is not much reliable information on Cromwell's life, but his date of birth and early education are mentioned in the pamphlet cited in the previous note.

59. Dr. Kirkbride's use of lantern slides in his hospital is described in: C. Sellers. 1865. "A Brief History of Photography in the Magic Lantern," a paper delivered before the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, *The Philadelphia Photographer*, July 1, 1865, p. 119. This includes the quotation about the Stereopticon from Dr. Kirkbride, which originally appeared in a report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane.

60. The collaboration between Dr. Kirkbride and the Langenheim Brothers has been the subject of considerable scholarly research. See: George S. Layne. 1981. Kirkbride-Langenheim collaboration: early use of photography in psychiatric treatment in Philadelphia. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105:182-202; Emily Godbey. 2000. Picture me sane: photography and the magic lantern in a nineteenth-century asylum. *American Studies* 41:31-69; Beth Haller and Robin Larsen. 2005. Pursuading sanity: magic lantern images the nineteenth-century moral treatment in America. *Journal of American Culture* 28:259-272.

61. Both Musser (1990) and Barber (1993) state that Langenheim slides were shown at Abel and Leyland's exhibitions (see note 7). Fallon traveled to England at least once, in 1862, when he visited the London International Exhibition (see note 29), so he could have purchased additional slides for his Stereopticon on that trip.

62. "Huon," "Stereop.," part I (see note 6).

63. *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia), January 5, 1861.

64. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 11, 1861.

65. *The Press* (Philadelphia), April 8, 11, 1861.

66. "Huon," "Stereop.,", part IV (see note 6).

67. Broadside in collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

68. Broadside in collection of the Amerian Antiquarian Society.

69. Broadside for show at Boston Melodeon in collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

70. Advertisements for Fallon's Stereopticon, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 15, 21, 22, 23, 1863 (same ads, all on p. 1).

71. "War in Irving Hall," *New York Times*, June 27, 1864, p. 7; "Irving Hall—Incidents of the War," *New York Times*, June 28, 1864, p. 7.

72. "Irving Hall—Re-engagement of Fallon's Stereopticon," *New York Herald*, August 19, 1863.

73. "Stereopticon at Irving Hall," *New York Herald*, August 24, 1863.

74. "Tweddle Hall—Fallon Stereopticon!" *Albany Evening Journal*, November 2, 1869.

75. "Tweddle Hall—Fallon Stereopticon. Grand Private Exhibition of the Best Statuary in the Cromwell Collection," *Albany Evening Journal*, November 11, 1869.

76. Advertisement for Fallon's Stereopticon at Wieting Hall, Syracuse, New York, *Syracuse Daily Standard*, December 6, 1869: "It is both a GALLERY and a MUSEUM, feeding the cultivated eye and the inquisitive mind at the same time, and is the SCIENTIFIC WONDER AND MARVEL OF THE AGE."

77. Notices of Fallon's Stereopticon at Plymouth Church appeared in "Rev. Henry Ward Beecher at Home," *New York Times*, November 16, 1863, p. 5; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 17, 1863, p. 7; "The Welcome of Mr. Beecher," *New York Times*, November 19, 1863, p. 8. A story announcing the arrival of Fallon's Stereopticon in Buffalo, New York, in January 1864 also mentioned it had been shown at Beecher's church: *Buffalo Daily Courier*, January 21, 1864.

78. "Floral and Strawberry Festival at Plymouth Church," *New York Times*, June 8, 1865, p. 5; "The Plymouth Festival," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 10, 1865, p. 2.

79. "The Annual Report of the Ministry-at-Large in Lowell," *Christian Inquirer*, January 24, 1863, p. 3.

80. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 21, 1863, p. 1: "Brooklyn Atheneum. By Special Arrangements Fallon's Stereopticon will continue on exhibition for the benefit of the Central Congregational Church Sunday School, Brooklyn." Musser (1990) (see note 7) stated that the final week of the Brooklyn show was held "under the auspices of the Central Congregational Sunday School" (p. 31). Lindvall (2007) (see note 8) misinterpreted this to mean that the show was actually given in the church, but in fact, it remained at the Brooklyn Athenaeum, with the profits going to the church. Lindvall further confused the story by placing the Central Congregational Church in Massachusetts and stating, "In 1863 chemist John Fallon selected choice views of landscapes from his travels around the world, transferred these views into photographic slides, and astonished both audiences and congregations with his stereopticon.... Fallon hit the itinerant circuit as a traveling evangelist for modernity and faith" (p. 46). Lindvall then says, "Following Fallon's success in Boston-area churches, prominent lecturer John Stoddard used the stereopticon to provide scenes of bucolic landscapes to enchanted evangelical Protestant and other proponents of genteel society" (p. 47). In fact, the Central Congregational Church was in Brooklyn (Fig. 40). Fallon never traveled around the world and did not go on a tour of Boston-area churches as an intinerant showman, and indeed, his stereopticon was seldom exhibited in churches. John L. Stoddard did not begin lecturing until many years later and generally did not lecture to church congregations; during his lecturing career, he considered himself a religious agnostic, although he later became a Catholic. See: John L. Stoddard. 1922. *Rebuilding a Lost Faith, by an American Agnostic* (P. J. Kennedy and Sons, New York).

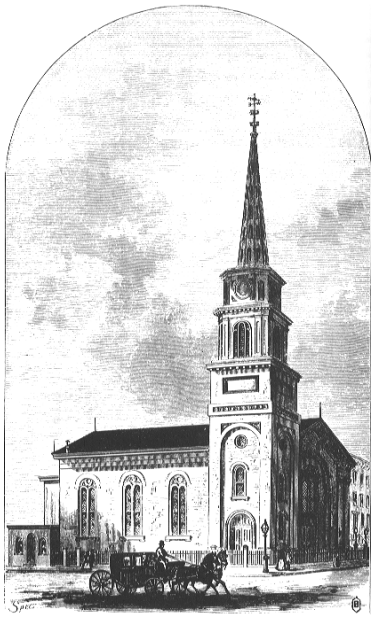

Fig. 40. Central Congregational Church in Brooklyn, New York. The church occupied this building from 1854-1872. Ten days of the exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon in May 1863 at the Brooklyn Athenaeum were to benefit the Sunday School of this church. Image from the Central Congregational Church website (http://www.nycago.org).

81. "New and Choice Entertainment for Thanksgiving. The Stereopticon." *Lowell Daily Citizen*, November 27, 1862. "The profit of these exhibitions will go to the benefit of the Poor of Lowell, the coming winter." "Everybody Should Go and See Prof. Cromwell's Magnificent Exhibition of Fallon's Stereopticon," *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, November 17, 18, 20, 21, 1868. "The proceeds of this Exhibition are to be appropriated for the benefit of Saint John's (Episcopal) Church."

82. "Irving Hall Overhauled," *New York Times*, September 25, 1862.

83. "The retirement of Mr. Fallon" (see note 21).

84. "John Fallon No More" (see note 25) and other obituaries listed in note 21.

85. *Twenty Thousand Rich New Englanders. A List of Taxpayers Who Were Assessed in 1888 to Pay a Tax of One Hundred Dollars or More* (Luce & Bridge, Boston, 1888). Taxes were paid on property, not income, in 1888. John Fallon of Lawrence paid $663 in taxes (p. 40).

86. Real estate advertisement for "Summer Residence," *Boston Journal*, November 3, 1897, p. 9.

87. Cole, *Immigrant City* (see note 22).

88. John Fallon obituary, *Lawrence Sentinel*, December 20, 1889.

89. A brief announcement that Thomas Leyland & Co., "importers and manufacturers of gums, dextrines, calico printers', dyers', and bleachers' supplies, have removed to their new offices on the fourth floor in the Dean building, 60 India street, Boston" appeared in *American Wool and Cotton Reporter*, June 7, 1906. The firm had moved to Boston in the late 1870s or early 1880s. I have seen advertisements for Thomas Leyland & Co. as a manufacturer of textile machinery and supplies in the 1920s listed on Ebay.

90. Lawrence directories for 1859, 1868, 1871, 1881; Boston directory 1878; Census records for Lawrence 1870, 1880; Boston, 1900 (accessed through *Ancestry.com*).

91. Advertisement for "Peter E. Abel's Literary Curiosity Shop" in *American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular*, May 1, 1869, p. 368. Announcement of "Handsome Lithographic Views" available at Abel's bookshop, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 9, 1869, p. 2.

92. "The Great American Show," *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), November 12, 1875, p. 2. This article describes preparations for the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia to open in the spring of 1876. Peter E. Abel is mentioned as agent for the Centennial Music Association.

93. "The Chestnut," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 13, 1870, p. 4, mentions that the theater is under new management; Mr. P. E. Abel is in charge of the "front," and his "arrangements for the comfort of visitors are all that could be desired." A later article on the program at the Chestnut Street Theatre refers to "Mr. P. E. Abel, the indefatigable and courteous business manager;" *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 26, 1872, p. 3.

94. "A Life Badly Ended," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 4, 1876, p. 2. The first article by "Huon" on the stereopticon (see note 6) mentions that the first business manager of The Stereopticon committed suicide by jumping off the Girard Avenue Bridge, without giving Abel's name.

95. Among the death notices for Peter E. Abel published in newspapers were the following: "Philadelphia. Supposed Suicide," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, May 3, 1876, p. 1; "Disappearance of a Theatrical Manager," *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, May 4, 1876, p. 3; "Philadelphia. Suicide of Peter E. Abel," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 4, 1876, p. 8; "Supposed Suicide," *Wheeling Register*, May 4, 1876, p. 13; "A Manager Drowns Himself," Reading, Pennsylvania *Daily Eagle*, May 3, 1876; "Suicide," *Titusville* (Pennsylvania) *Herald*, May 4, 1876; untitled announcement, *Indianapolis Sentinel*, May 4, 1876, p. 1. The discovery of his body more than a week after his suicide was announced in the *North*

American (Philadelphia), May 13, 1876, p. 1.

96. For references on the later life of Tilly Haynes, see note 45.

97. "Dr. J. C. Fletcher, a Notable Man, Dead" (see note 50).

98. Fletcher lectured in Indianapolis and Chicago from 1877 through 1879, mostly on Pompeii, but sometimes on Brazil, Portugal, or Italy: "Second Lecture on Pompeii," *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 14, 1877, p. 5; "Life in Pompeii," *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 18, 1877, p. 8; "Ancient Agony," *Indianapolis Sentinel*, July 21, 1877, p. 8 (this article mentions a display of sculptures and paintings after the lecture); "The Fletcher Lectures" (on Portugal), *Indianapolis Sentinel*, September 5, 1877, p. 8; "Modern Italy," *Indianapolis Sentinel*, September 11, 1877, p. 8; "Pompeii," *Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), February 23, 1878, p. 8; "Pompeii, The Rev. J. C. Fletcher's Second Lecture," *Daily Inter Ocean*, February 26, 1878, p. 4; "Pompeii, The Rev. J. C. Fletcher's Third Lecture," *Daily Inter Ocean*, March 2, 1878, p. 3; "Pompeii and its Inhabitants" [8th lecture], *Daily Inter Ocean*, March 8, 1878, p. 8; "Dom Pedro's Dominion," *Indianapolis Sentinel*, February 4, 1879, p. 4; lecture on "The Fauna of the Amazon," *Indianapolis Sentinel*, April 1, 1880, p. 8. Throughout his life, Rev. Fletcher was a frequent correspondent to many newspapers and magazines. While living in Indianapolis, he published 25 articles in the local newspaper on early Indianapolis history, based on the journals of his parents in the 1820s. These were reprinted in "Early Indianapolis. The Fletcher Journals," *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, March 1906, pp. 29-36.

99. For Fletcher's arrival in Los Angeles and his career there, see references in note 50.

100. Lectures by Rev. Fletcher in the Los Angeles area, apparently not illustrated with lantern slides, include the following: "Lectures on Pompeii," *Los Angeles Times*, October 13, 1890, p. 1; two lectures on "Nature and Art in Egypt," *Los Angeles Times*, March 31, 1891, p. 8; lecture on "Two Thousand Miles up the Amazon," *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 1892, p. 8; lecture on Pompeii, *Los Angeles Times*, March 13, 1892, p. 12; memorial address on John Greenleaf Whittier, *Los Angeles Times*, September 28, 1892, p. 4; "Rev. Fletcher's Lecture" ("The Artistic Horticulture and Floriculture of the Ancients"), *Los Angeles Times*, December 2, 1892. Fletcher also contributed a lengthy article on "The Citrus Family" to the *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1892, in which he described the history of oranges and other citrus fruits.

101. Fletcher's lectures "illustrated by the stereopticon" include: lecture on "Through the Art City of Italy," *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 30, 1893, p. 8; lecture on "Florence the Beautiful," *Los Angeles Times*, March 16, 1893, p. 7; May 21, 1893, p. 9; May 24, 1893, p. 7; illustrated lecture on "Pompeiian Art as Applied to Women, *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 1893, p. 8 and October 24, 1893, p. 10; lecture on "Italy," *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1893, p. 8; lecture on "Naples, Florence and Pompeii," *Los Angeles Times*, November 14, 1893, p. 10; lectures on "Mount Vesuvius" and "Pompeii" (Fig. 41); *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1894, p. 9; lecture on "John Greenleaf Whittier, the Greatest of American Poets," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1894, p. 3.

102. "A Tragic Death. Mrs. J. C. Fletcher Run Over by a Heavy Wagon," *Los Angeles Times*, September 13, 1895, p. 7.

103. "Egypt and its Arts," *Los Angeles Times*, April 30, 1896, p. 8. Illustrated by stereopticon views.

104. "Rev. J. C. Fletcher preached in the Home chapel last Sunday afternoon," *Los Angeles Times*, March 12, 1901, p. 13.

105. "Dr. J. C. Fletcher, a Notable Man, Dead" (see note 50).

106. Cromwell obituary, *New York Herald*, January 7, 1899, p 1.

107. Among the short-lived stereopticon exhibitions in the Northeast that focused mainly or entirely on Civil War photographs were Sanderson's "Stereopticon of the Southern Rebellion" (Philadelphia *Press*, Aug. 24, 29, Sept. 12, 1861, Oct. 4, 5, 1862; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Aug. 6, 10, 13, 26, 29, Sept. 2, 1861); Somerset's "Stereopticon of the Southern Rebellion" (Trenton, New Jersey, *State Gazette*, Aug. 6, 7, 8, 1861; Jones & Johnson's "Union Gallery" (*Erie Observer*, Sept. 7., 1865); Bradley's "Celebrated Stereopticon of the War" (Lowell Daily Citizen, April 27, 28, 29, May 1, 2, 1863; Major Monroe's "stereopticon of the war" (*Hartford Daily Courant*, Jan. 30, 1864, p. 2; W. E. James and H. L. Huntington's "Stereopticon Views of Charleston and Fort Sumter" [showing the ruins of Charleston after the Union victory] (*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 15, 16, 27, 1865). There also was a "Stereopticon" exhibition in Syracuse in 1863 by an unnamed exhibitor, which seems to have consisted of photographs of painted scenes of the war (or actual paintings): "This magnificent work of art, representing battle scenes in the War for the Union, (because it was painted before the war degenerated into an Abolition war, under the Emancipation Proclamation) will be exhibited at Wieting Hall…. The representations on canvass are superb…. The warlike scenes depicted through the Stereopticon have been sketched upon battle fields, and are said to the remarkably vivid and true to nature.—These exhibit our Union victories upon many contested fields, and will have a keen interest for our readers" (*Syracuse Daily Courier*, Oct. 26, 1863). Various painted panoramas of the war also were on tour in the 1860s, such as Pearson & Co.'s "Grand Mirror of the War" (*Springfield Republican,* Oct. 15, 1861). Once the war was over and President Lincoln had been assassinated, the public's taste for battle scenes and photographs of dead soldiers waned, and few stereopticon shows with a Civil War theme are listed in newspapers after 1865. Interest in Civil War photos was revived in the 1890s through the efforts of the Grand Army of the Republic. See: William Gleeson. 2011. Waving the black-and-white bloody shirt: Civil War remembrance and the fluctuating functions of images in the Gilded Age. *E-rea (Revue Électronique d'etudes sur le Monde Anglophone)* 8 (3):3-14 [for a summary of this article, see *The Magic Lantern Gazette* 23 (2):19 (Summer 2011)].

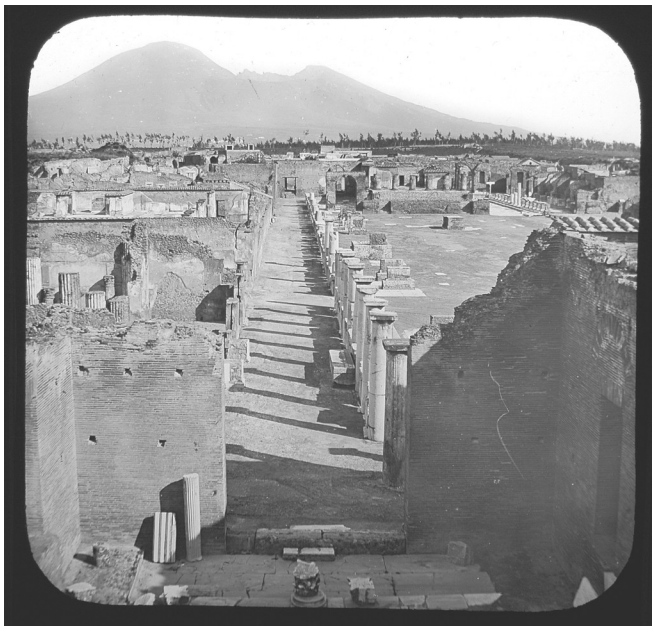

Fig. 41. French lantern slide of the ruins of Pompeii by Ferrier and Soulier. Rev. J. C. Fletcher spent years exploring Pompeii, and in the 1890s, he delivered lectures illustrated with stereopticon slides of the ancient city. Wells collection.

Magic Lantern Society of the United States and Canada
Annual Financial Report

November 1, 2010 through December 31, 2011

CLOSING BALANCE PRIOR ANNUAL REPORT

Operating Balance October 31, 2010 $ 1 1,545.38
Research Award Fund October 31, 2010 $ 1,104.77
Total Cash Balance October 31, 2010 $ 12,650.15

INCOME

Membership Dues - (Note 1) $5459.33
Gazette Sales - Hard Copy $21.48
Electronic Files Sales-Gazette and Index CD/DVD $390.70
Interest $0.82
Subtotal Income $ 5,872.33

2010 CONVENTION
Net proceeds from final closeout of expenses $ 287.51
Subtotal Convention $ 287.51

2012 CONVENTION
Convention Facility Deposit $ (275.00)
Subtotal Convention $ (275.00)

OPERATING EXPENSES

Administration

Postage - (Note 2) $ (57.15)
Supplies $ (30.84)
Bank Service Charges - (Note 3) $ (10.00)
Subtotal Administration $ (97.99)

Electronic Files - Gazette and Index

CD/DVD Electronic File Postage $ (56.79)
CD/DVD Electronic File Supplies $ (43.00)
Total Electronic files - Gazette and Index $ (99.79)

Membership Directory - Spring 2011

Postage $ (165.82)
Printing $ (229.76)
Supplies $ -
Subtotal Directory $ (395.58)

Gazette - 4 Issues

Postage $ (991.41)
Printing $ (1,424.68)
Supplies $ (93.55)
Subtotal Gazette $ (2,509.64)

Membership

Awards/Memorials $ -
New Member Welcome Postage $ (17.70)
New Member Welcome Supplies $ -
Renewal Member Postage $ (163.84)
Renewal Member Printing $ (76.26)
Renewal Member Supplies $ (47.76)
Subtotal Membership $ (305.56)

Publicity

MLS Flyer Printing $ -
MLS Flyer Postage $ (22.65)
Subtotal Publicity $ (22.65)

Website

Hosting Fees $ (107.40)
Subtotal Website $ (107.40)

Subtotal Operating Expenses $ (3,538.61)

Total Balance December 31, 2011 - All Accounts $ 14,996.38

Research Award Fund held in Savings Account $ 1,095.59

Net Operating Balance December 31, 2011 $ 13,900.79

Notes

General: All funds held in traditional checking/savings accounts at Bank of America.

1. Dues Income listed above is Net Income and does not include $ 60.77 in PayPal service charges. 43 members paid their membership via PayPal in this reporting period.

2. Administrative postage includes mailing hard copy e-pubs to members without email access.

3. Includes an errant $10 bank service charge 12/31/11 from Research Award Fund. Charge reversed 1/14/12 and funds returned to Research Award Fund.

In accordance with the revised bylaws adopted April 1, 2011, the annual financial reporting period has been changed from November-November to January-December. Accordingly, this first report covers a 14 month period.

Respectfully submitted, Ron Easterday, Secretary/ Treasurer, January 28, 2012

Exhibitions for the Benefit of the SANITARY COMMISSION.

—THE—

STEREOPTICON.

Belonging to JOHN FALLON, ESQ., Superintendent of the Print Works, at Lawrence,

And recently from PHILADELPHIA, where it was on exhibition for 13 successive weeks. 75,000 persons who visited it have pronounced it to be

A Superior Source of Pure Instruction and Art Entertainments

THE STEREOPTICON is a new and powerful apparatus—which, with the aid of the strongest artificial light that science has yet created, reproduces Photographic Pictures with Stereoscopic effects upon an extensive scale, being capable of magnifying forty feet in diameter, with an accuracy and marvelousness almost magical,—surpassing anything hitherto exhibited in America. These entertainments have received the unqualified approval of scientific men, travelers, artists, clergymen and teachers, and as an educational and refining medium are without an equal.

THE SANITARY COMMISSION have made arrangements for a series of these Entertainments of

Gigantic STEREOSCOPIC PICTURES!

Surpassing anything hitherto presented to public view, will be given

AT THE MELODEON,

—ON—

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday Evenings,

APRIL 21st, 22d, and 23d, AT EIGHT O'CLOCK, and on

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, AT THREE O'CLOCK

THESE EXHIBITIONS FORM

A GALLERY OF SUN-PAINTING & SUN SCULPTURE

OR AS IT HAS BEEN TERMED,

A Stereoscopic Tour over the World, "A Voyage down the Stream of Civilization and Progress, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day."

Representing the Wonderful and Beautiful in NATURE and ART. This series comprises VIEWS PHOTOGRAPHED ON THE SPOT, of

Mountains, Valleys, Lakes, River and Forest Scenery, Cathedrals, Churches, Palaces, Castles, Bridges, Monuments, Architectural Ruins, Public Buildings, Panoramas of Cities, &c., &c., and Choice Specimens of

ANCIENT AND MODERN STATUARY.

EACH OF WHICH IS DISPLAYED UPON

SIX HUNDRED SQUARE FEET of ILLUMINATED CANVAS,

With a beauty and perfection never before witnessed, and at which from One to Ten Thousand Persons can look at once, as upon the reality. The collection of Views is so numerous, that a separate and distinct

Change of Programme can be given each Evening,

AS VARIED AS IT IS UNIQUE.

30,000 Square Feet of Stereoscopic Transparent and COLORED PHOTOGRAPHS vividly Displayed Each Evening!

The colors are given with vivid accuracy, and the details with a delicacy, as well as completeness, which brings out each object with marvellous and truthful effect. Mr. Fallon's stock of Stereographs amounts to **many Hundred Views**, which enables the subjects to be varied to almost any extent—thereby providing a constant renewal of novelty and beauty—and comprising the grandest and most attractive views of

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SCENERY,

The most renowned places of Historical Interest, and well-known Public Edifices in

ENGLAND, IRELAND, WALES AND SCOTLAND,

Remarkable and Interesting Views of

FRANCE, BELGIUM and GERMANY,

With the Galleries of Louvre, Tuilleries and Versailles, Cathedral at Rheims, &c. The glorious Mountain Scenery of

SWITZERLAND!

Mt. BLANC, The Mer de Glace, Vale of Chamouni, Lake of Geneva, Interlacken.

The Sunny Skies of

ITALY! VIEWS IN ROME!

THE COLOSSEUM, ST. PETER'S, THE VATICAN,

Its Halls and Galleries, with their splendid specimens of Statuary—all appearing with that vividness and truth of view, with which the sun himself, the great and truthful delineator, can endow them.

NAPLES, with its Palaces and Forts, Palermo, and its Celebrated Cathedral and the exquisitely beautiful architecture of the Capuchin Convent.

MOUNT VESUVIUS WITH ITS FEARFUL ERUPTIONS

Ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum—Grecian Ruins—Egyptian Ruins—Views in Arabia and Palestine—Faithful Views in the Holy Land—graceful Scenery of the Bosphorus—Views in Moscow—The Battle Fields of Napoleon—The Dresden Galleries—Public Edifices at Berlin—The Wonders of Venice—The beautiful Scenery of the Rhine—The Gloomy Forests of Germany—The Alhambra—The Ruins of the Middle Ages—with many other Views of Cities and Scenery in the OLD WORLD AND NEW.

THE FULL MOON, Photographed by Whipple, of Boston,

Is re-produced with a marvellous effect—showing its Mountains, Volcanoes, Rivers, &c., &c.

A GALLERY OF STATUARY.

The noblest Statues of Ancient and Modern times will be re-produced with all the rotundity and solidity of the Originals. Each Evening will be introduced, SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF

Phidias,	**Pradier,**	**Monti,**	**Crawford,**
Praxiteles,	**Schwanthaler,**	**Macdonald,**	**Greenough,**
Thorwaldsen,	**John Bell,**	**Foley,**	**H. Hosmer,**
Canova,	**Marshall,**	**Powers,**	**&c., &c.**

The public can only understand the beauties of this Entertainment by seeing it.

Single Ticket, 25 Cts. **5 Tickets, $1.** **Children under 14, 15 Cents, and Wednesday Afternoon, 10 Cents.**

Tickets can be obtained at the Bookstores and at the Doors.

NO POSTPONEMENT ON ACCOUNT OF THE WEATHER.

REV. J. C. FLETCHER, of Brazil,

Having visited many of the Countries, has kindly consented to give a brief description of each view. [Read the other side.]

1862 Broadside for Fallon's Stereopticon, with Rev. J. C. Fletcher as the lecturer. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.